Volume XXXVII] *January, 1932* [*Number 2*

The

American Historical Review

EVERYMAN HIS OWN HISTORIAN[1]

I.

ONCE upon a time, long long ago, I learned how to reduce a fraction to its lowest terms. Whether I could still perform that operation is uncertain; but the discipline involved in early training had its uses, since it taught me that in order to understand the essential nature of anything it is well to strip it of all superficial and irrelevant accretions—in short, to reduce it to its lowest terms. That operation I now venture, with some apprehension and all due apologies, to perform on the subject of history.

I ought first of all to explain that when I use the term history I mean knowledge of history. No doubt throughout all past time there actually occurred a series of events which, whether we know what it was or not, constitutes history in some ultimate sense. Nevertheless, much the greater part of these events we can know nothing about, not even that they occurred; many of them we can know only imperfectly; and even the few events that we think we know for sure we can never be absolutely certain of, since we can never revive them, never observe or test them directly. The event itself once occurred, but as an actual event it has disappeared; so that in dealing with it the only objective reality we can observe or test is some material trace which the event has left—usually a written document. With these traces of vanished events, these documents, we must be content since they are all we have; from them we infer what the event was, we affirm that it is a fact that the event was so and so. We do not say "Lincoln is assassinated"; we say "it is a fact that Lincoln was assassinated". The event *was,* but is no longer; it is only the affirmed fact about the event that *is,* that persists, and will persist until we discover

[1] Presidential Address delivered before the American Historical Association at Minneapolis, December 29, 1931.

that our affirmation is wrong or inadequate. Let us then admit that there are two histories: the actual series of events that once occurred; and the ideal series that we affirm and hold in memory. The first is absolute and unchanged—it was what it was whatever we do or say about it; the second is relative, always changing in response to the increase or refinement of knowledge. The two series correspond more or less, it is our aim to make the correspondence as exact as possible; but the actual series of events exists for us only in terms of the ideal series which we affirm and hold in memory. This is why I am forced to identify history with knowledge of history. For all practical purposes history is, for us and for the time being, what we know it to be.

It is history in this sense that I wish to reduce to its lowest terms. In order to do that I need a very simple definition. I once read that "History is the knowledge of events that have occurred in the past". That is a simple definition, but not simple enough. It contains three words that require examination. The first is knowledge. Knowledge is a formidable word. I always think of knowledge as something that is stored up in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* or the *Summa Theologica;* something difficult to acquire, something at all events that I have not. Resenting a definition that denies me the title of historian, I therefore ask what is most essential to knowledge. Well, memory, I should think (and I mean memory in the broad sense, the memory of events inferred as well as the memory of events observed); other things are necessary too, but memory is fundamental: without memory no knowledge. So our definition becomes, "History is the memory of events that have occurred in the past". But events—the word carries an implication of something grand, like the taking of the Bastille or the Spanish-American War. An occurrence need not be spectacular to be an event. If I drive a motor car down the crooked streets of Ithaca, that is an event—something done; if the traffic cop bawls me out, that is an event—something said; if I have evil thoughts of him for so doing, that is an event—something thought. In truth anything done, said, or thought is an event, important or not as may turn out. But since we do not ordinarily speak without thinking, at least in some rudimentary way, and since the psychologists tell us that we can not think without speaking, or at least not without having anticipatory vibrations in the larynx, we may well combine thought events and speech events under one term; and so our definition becomes, "History is the memory of things said and done in the past". But the past—the word is both misleading and unnecessary: misleading, because the

past, used in connection with history, seems to imply the distant past, as if history ceased before we were born; unnecessary, because after all everything said or done is already in the past as soon as it is said or done. Therefore I will omit that word, and our definition becomes, "History is the memory of things said and done". This is a definition that reduces history to its lowest terms, and yet includes everything that is essential to understanding what it really is.

If the essence of history is the memory of things said and done, then it is obvious that every normal person, Mr. Everyman, knows some history. Of course we do what we can to conceal this invidious truth. Assuming a professional manner, we say that so and so knows no history, when we mean no more than that he failed to pass the examinations set for a higher degree; and simple-minded persons, undergraduates and others, taken in by academic classifications of knowledge, think they know no history because they have never taken a course in history in college, or have never read Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. No doubt the academic convention has its uses, but it is one of the superficial accretions that must be stripped off if we would understand history reduced to its lowest terms. Mr. Everyman, as well as you and I, remembers things said and done, and must do so at every waking moment. Suppose Mr. Everyman to have awakened this morning unable to remember anything said or done. He would be a lost soul indeed. This has happened, this sudden loss of all historical knowledge. But normally it does not happen. Normally the memory of Mr. Everyman, when he awakens in the morning, reaches out into the country of the past and of distant places and instantaneously recreates his little world of endeavor, pulls together as it were things said and done in his yesterdays, and coördinates them with his present perceptions and with things to be said and done in his to-morrows. Without this historical knowledge, this memory of things said and done, his to-day would be aimless and his to-morrow without significance.

Since we are concerned with history in its lowest terms, we will suppose that Mr. Everyman is not a professor of history, but just an ordinary citizen without excess knowledge. Not having a lecture to prepare, his memory of things said and done, when he awakened this morning, presumably did not drag into consciousness any events connected with the Liman von Sanders mission or the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals; it presumably dragged into consciousness an image of things said and done yesterday in the office, the highly significant fact that

General Motors had dropped three points, a conference arranged for ten o'clock in the morning, a promise to play nine holes at four-thirty in the afternoon, and other historical events of similar import. Mr. Everyman knows more history than this, but at the moment of awakening this is sufficient: memory of things said and done, history functioning, at seven-thirty in the morning, in its very lowest terms, has effectively oriented Mr. Everyman in his little world of endeavor.

Yet not quite effectively after all perhaps; for unaided memory is notoriously fickle; and it may happen that Mr. Everyman, as he drinks his coffee, is uneasily aware of something said or done that he fails now to recall. A common enough occurrence, as we all know to our sorrow—this remembering, not the historical event, but only that there was an event which we ought to remember but can not. This is Mr. Everyman's difficulty, a bit of history lies dead and inert in the sources, unable to do any work for Mr. Everyman because his memory refuses to bring it alive in consciousness. What then does Mr. Everyman do? He does what any historian would do: he does a bit of historical research in the sources. From his little Private Record Office (I mean his vest pocket) he takes a book in MS., volume XXXV. it may be, and turns to page 23, and there he reads: "December 29, pay Smith's coal bill, 20 tons, $1017.20." Instantaneously a series of historical events comes to life in Mr. Everyman's mind. He has an image of himself ordering twenty tons of coal from Smith last summer, of Smith's wagons driving up to his house, and of the precious coal sliding dustily through the cellar window. Historical events, these are, not so important as the forging of the Isidorian Decretals, but still important to Mr. Everyman: historical events which he was not present to observe, but which, by an artificial extension of memory, he can form a clear picture of, because he has done a little original research in the manuscripts preserved in his Private Record Office.

The picture Mr. Everyman forms of Smith's wagons delivering the coal at his house is a picture of things said and done in the past. But it does not stand alone, it is not a pure antiquarian image to be enjoyed for its own sake; on the contrary, it is associated with a picture of things to be said and done in the future; so that throughout the day Mr. Everyman intermittently holds in mind, together with a picture of Smith's coal wagons, a picture of himself going at four o'clock in the afternoon to Smith's office in order to pay his bill. At four o'clock Mr. Everyman is accordingly at Smith's office. "I wish to pay that coal bill", he says. Smith looks dubious and disappointed, takes down

a ledger (or a filing case), does a bit of original research in his Private Record Office, and announces: "You don't owe me any money, Mr. Everyman. You ordered the coal here all right, but I didn't have the kind you wanted, and so turned the order over to Brown. It was Brown delivered your coal: he's the man you owe." Whereupon Mr. Everyman goes to Brown's office; and Brown takes down a ledger, does a bit of original research in his Private Record Office, which happily confirms the researches of Smith; and Mr. Everyman pays his bill, and in the evening, after returning from the Country Club, makes a further search in another collection of documents, where, sure enough, he finds a bill from Brown, properly drawn, for twenty tons of stove coal, $1017.20. The research is now completed. Since his mind rests satisfied, Mr. Everyman has found the explanation of the series of events that concerned him.

Mr. Everyman would be astonished to learn that he is an historian, yet it is obvious, isn't it, that he has performed all the essential operations involved in historical research. Needing or wanting to do something (which happened to be, not to deliver a lecture or write a book, but to pay a bill; and this is what misleads him and us as to what he is really doing), the first step was to recall things said and done. Unaided memory proving inadequate, a further step was essential—the examination of certain documents in order to discover the necessary but as yet unknown facts. Unhappily the documents were found to give conflicting reports, so that a critical comparison of the texts had to be instituted in order to eliminate error. All this having been satisfactorily accomplished, Mr. Everyman is ready for the final operation—the formation in his mind, by an artificial extension of memory, of a picture, a definitive picture let us hope, of a selected series of historical events—of himself ordering coal from Smith, of Smith turning the order over to Brown, and of Brown delivering the coal at his house. In the light of this picture Mr. Everyman could, and did, pay his bill. If Mr. Everyman had undertaken these researches in order to write a book instead of to pay a bill, no one would think of denying that he was an historian.

II.

I have tried to reduce history to its lowest terms, first by defining it as the memory of things said and done, second by showing concretely how the memory of things said and done is essential to the performance of the simplest acts of daily life. I wish now to note the more general

implications of Mr. Everyman's activities. In the realm of affairs Mr. Everyman has been paying his coal bill; in the realm of consciousness he has been doing that fundamental thing which enables man alone to have, properly speaking, a history: he has been reënforcing and enriching his immediate perceptions to the end that he may live in a world of semblance more spacious and satisfying than is to be found within the narrow confines of the fleeting present moment.

We are apt to think of the past as dead, the future as nonexistent, the present alone as real; and prematurely wise or disillusioned counselors have urged us to burn always with "a hard, gemlike flame" in order to give "the highest quality to the moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake". This no doubt is what the glowworm does; but I think that man, who alone is properly aware that the present moment passes, can for that very reason make no good use of the present moment simply for its own sake. Strictly speaking, the present doesn't exist for us, or is at best no more than an infinitesimal point in time, gone before we can note it as present. Nevertheless, we must have a present; and so we create one by robbing the past, by holding on to the most recent events and pretending that they all belong to our immediate perceptions. If, for example, I raise my arm, the total event is a series of occurrences of which the first are past before the last have taken place; and yet you perceive it as a single movement executed in one present instant. This telescoping of successive events into a single instant philosophers call the 'specious present'. Doubtless they would assign rather narrow limits to the specious present; but I will willfully make a free use of it, and say that we can extend the specious present as much as we like. In common speech we do so: we speak of the 'present hour', the 'present year', the 'present generation'. Perhaps all living creatures have a specious present; but man has this superiority, as Pascal says, that he is aware of himself and the universe, can as it were hold himself at arm's length and with some measure of objectivity watch himself and his fellows functioning in the world during a brief span of allotted years. Of all the creatures, man alone has a specious present that may be deliberately and purposefully enlarged and diversified and enriched.

The extent to which the specious present may thus be enlarged and enriched will depend upon knowledge, the artificial extension of memory, the memory of things said and done in the past and distant places. But not upon knowledge alone; rather upon knowledge directed by purpose. The specious present is an unstable pattern of thought, in-

cessantly changing in response to our immediate perceptions and the purposes that arise therefrom. At any given moment each one of us (professional historian no less than Mr. Everyman) weaves into this unstable pattern such actual or artificial memories as may be necessary to orient us in our little world of endeavor. But to be oriented in our little world of endeavor we must be prepared for what is coming to us (the payment of a coal bill, the delivery of a presidential address, the establishment of a League of Nations, or whatever); and to be prepared for what is coming to us it is necessary, not only to recall certain past events, but to anticipate (note I do not say predict) the future. Thus from the specious present, which always includes more or less of the past, the future refuses to be excluded; and the more of the past we drag into the specious present, the more an hypothetical, patterned future is likely to crowd into it also. Which comes first, which is cause and which effect, whether our memories construct a pattern of past events at the behest of our desires and hopes, or whether our desires and hopes spring from a pattern of past events imposed upon us by experience and knowledge, I shall not attempt to say. What I suspect is that memory of past and anticipation of future events work together, go hand in hand as it were in a friendly way, without disputing over priority and leadership.

At all events they go together, so that in a very real sense it is impossible to divorce history from life: Mr. Everyman can not do what he needs or desires to do without recalling past events; he can not recall past events without in some subtle fashion relating them to what he needs or desires to do. This is the natural function of history, of history reduced to its lowest terms, of history conceived as the memory of things said and done: memory of things said and done (whether in our immediate yesterdays or in the long past of mankind), running hand in hand with the anticipation of things to be said and done, enables us, each to the extent of his knowledge and imagination, to be intelligent, to push back the narrow confines of the fleeting present moment so that what we are doing may be judged in the light of what we have done and what we hope to do. In this sense all *living* history, as Croce says, is contemporaneous: in so far as we think the past (and otherwise the past, however fully related in documents, is nothing to us) it becomes an integral and living part of our present world of semblance.

It must then be obvious that living history, the ideal series of events that we affirm and hold in memory, since it is so intimately associated

with what we are doing and with what we hope to do, can not be precisely the same for all at any given time, or the same for one generation as for another. History in this sense can not be reduced to a verifiable set of statistics or formulated in terms of universally valid mathematical formulas. It is rather an imaginative creation, a personal possession which each one of us, Mr. Everyman, fashions out of his individual experience, adapts to his practical or emotional needs, and adorns as well as may be to suit his æsthetic tastes. In thus creating his own history, there are, nevertheless, limits which Mr. Everyman may not overstep without incurring penalties. The limits are set by his fellows. If Mr. Everyman lived quite alone in an unconditioned world he would be free to affirm and hold in memory any ideal series of events that struck his fancy, and thus create a world of semblance quite in accord with the heart's desire. Unfortunately, Mr. Everyman has to live in a world of Browns and Smiths; a sad experience, which has taught him the expediency of recalling certain events with much exactness. In all the immediately practical affairs of life Mr. Everyman is a good historian, as expert, in conducting the researches necessary for paying his coal bill, as need be. His expertness comes partly from long practice, but chiefly from the circumstance that his researches are prescribed and guided by very definite and practical objects which concern him intimately. The problem of what documents to consult, what facts to select, troubles Mr. Everyman not at all. Since he is not writing a book on "Some Aspects of the Coal Industry Objectively Considered", it does not occur to him to collect all the facts and let them speak for themselves. Wishing merely to pay his coal bill, he selects only such facts as may be relevant; and not wishing to pay it twice, he is sufficiently aware, without ever having read Bernheim's *Lehrbuch,* that the relevant facts must be clearly established by the testimony of independent witnesses not self-deceived. He does not know, or need to know, that his personal interest in the performance is a disturbing bias which will prevent him from learning the whole truth or arriving at ultimate causes. Mr. Everyman does not wish to learn the whole truth or to arrive at ultimate causes. He wishes to pay his coal bill. That is to say, he wishes to adjust himself to a practical situation, and on that low pragmatic level he is a good historian precisely because he is not disinterested: he will solve his problems, if he does solve them, by virtue of his intelligence and not by virtue of his indifference.

Nevertheless, Mr. Everyman does not live by bread alone; and on

all proper occasions his memory of things said and done, easily enlarging his specious present beyond the narrow circle of daily affairs, will, must inevitably, in mere compensation for the intolerable dullness and vexation of the fleeting present moment, fashion for him a more spacious world than that of the immediately practical. He can readily recall the days of his youth, the places he has lived in, the ventures he has made, the adventures he has had—all the crowded events of a lifetime; and beyond and around this central pattern of personally experienced events, there will be embroidered a more dimly seen pattern of artificial memories, memories of things reputed to have been said and done in past times which he has not known, in distant places which he has not seen. This outer pattern of remembered events that encloses and completes the central pattern of his personal experience, Mr. Everyman has woven, he could not tell you how, out of the most diverse threads of information, picked up in the most casual way, from the most unrelated sources—from things learned at home and in school, from knowledge gained in business or profession, from newspapers glanced at, from books (yes, even history books) read or heard of, from remembered scraps of newsreels or educational films or *ex cathedra* utterances of presidents and kings, from fifteen-minute discourses on the history of civilization broadcast by the courtesy (it may be) of Pepsodent, the Bulova Watch Company, or the Shepard Stores in Boston. Daily and hourly, from a thousand unnoted sources, there is lodged in Mr. Everyman's mind a mass of unrelated and related information and misinformation, of impressions and images, out of which he somehow manages, undeliberately for the most part, to fashion a history, a patterned picture of remembered things said and done in past times and distant places. It is not possible, it is not essential, that this picture should be complete or completely true: it is essential that it should be useful to Mr. Everyman; and that it may be useful to him he will hold in memory, of all the things he might hold in memory, those things only which can be related with some reasonable degree of relevance and harmony to his idea of himself and of what he is doing in the world and what he hopes to do.

In constructing this more remote and far-flung pattern of remembered things, Mr. Everyman works with something of the freedom of a creative artist; the history which he imaginatively recreates as an artificial extension of his personal experience will inevitably be an engaging blend of fact and fancy, a mythical adaptation of that which actually happened. In part it will be true, in part false; as a whole

perhaps neither true nor false, but only the most convenient form of error. Not that Mr. Everyman wishes or intends to deceive himself or others. Mr. Everyman has a wholesome respect for cold, hard facts, never suspecting how malleable they are, how easy it is to coax and cajole them; but he necessarily takes the facts as they come to him, and is enamored of those that seem best suited to his interests or promise most in the way of emotional satisfaction. The exact truth of remembered events he has in any case no time, and no need, to curiously question or meticulously verify. No doubt he can, if he be an American, call up an image of the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 as readily as he can call up an image of Smith's coal wagons creaking up the hill last summer. He suspects the one image no more than the other; but the signing of the Declaration, touching not his practical interests, calls for no careful historical research on his part. He may perhaps, without knowing why, affirm and hold in memory that the Declaration was signed by the members of the Continental Congress on the fourth of July. It is a vivid and sufficient image which Mr. Everyman may hold to the end of his days without incurring penalties. Neither Brown nor Smith has any interest in setting him right; nor will any court ever send him a summons for failing to recall that the Declaration, "being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members" on the second of August. As an actual event, the signing of the Declaration was what it was; as a remembered event it will be, for Mr. Everyman, what Mr. Everyman contrives to make it: will have for him significance and magic, much or little or none at all, as it fits well or ill into his little world of interests and aspirations and emotional comforts.

III.

What then of us, historians by profession? What have we to do with Mr. Everyman, or he with us? More, I venture to believe, than we are apt to think. For each of us is Mr. Everyman too. Each of us is subject to the limitations of time and place; and for each of us, no less than for the Browns and Smiths of the world, the pattern of remembered things said and done will be woven, safeguard the process how we may, at the behest of circumstance and purpose.

True it is that although each of us is Mr. Everyman, each is something more than his own historian. Mr. Everyman, being but an informal historian, is under no bond to remember what is irrelevant to his personal affairs. But we are historians by profession. Our profes-

sion, less intimately bound up with the practical activities, is to be directly concerned with the ideal series of events that is only of casual or occasional import to others; it is our business in life to be ever preoccupied with that far-flung pattern of artificial memories that encloses and completes the central pattern of individual experience. We are Mr. Everybody's historian as well as our own, since our histories serve the double purpose, which written histories have always served, of keeping alive the recollection of memorable men and events. We are thus of that ancient and honorable company of wise men of the tribe, of bards and story-tellers and minstrels, of soothsayers and priests, to whom in successive ages has been entrusted the keeping of the useful myths. Let not the harmless, necessary word 'myth' put us out of countenance. In the history of history a myth is a once valid but now discarded version of the human story, as our now valid versions will in due course be relegated to the category of discarded myths. With our predecessors, the bards and story-tellers and priests, we have therefore this in common: that it is our function, as it was theirs, not to create, but to preserve and perpetuate the social tradition; to harmonize, as well as ignorance and prejudice permit, the actual and the remembered series of events; to enlarge and enrich the specious present common to us all to the end that 'society' (the tribe, the nation, or all mankind) may judge of what it is doing in the light of what it has done and what it hopes to do.

History as the artificial extension of the social memory (and I willingly concede that there are other appropriate ways of apprehending human experience) is an art of long standing, necessarily so since it springs instinctively from the impulse to enlarge the range of immediate experience; and however camouflaged by the disfiguring jargon of science, it is still in essence what it has always been. History in this sense is story, in aim always a true story; a story that employs all the devices of literary art (statement and generalization, narration and description, comparison and comment and analogy) to present the succession of events in the life of man, and from the succession of events thus presented to derive a satisfactory meaning. The history written by historians, like the history informally fashioned by Mr. Everyman, is thus a convenient blend of truth and fancy, of what we commonly distinguish as 'fact' and 'interpretation'. In primitive times, when tradition is orally transmitted, bards and story-tellers frankly embroider or improvise the facts to heighten the dramatic import of the story. With the use of written records, history, gradually differen-

tiated from fiction, is understood as the story of events that actually occurred; and with the increase and refinement of knowledge the historian recognizes that his first duty is to be sure of his facts, let their meaning be what it may. Nevertheless, in every age history is taken to be a story of actual events from which a significant meaning may be derived; and in every age the illusion is that the present version is valid because the related facts are true, whereas former versions are invalid because based upon inaccurate or inadequate facts.

Never was this conviction more impressively displayed than in our own time—that age of erudition in which we live, or from which we are perhaps just emerging. Finding the course of history littered with the *débris* of exploded philosophies, the historians of the last century, unwilling to be forever duped, turned away (as they fondly hoped) from 'interpretation' to the rigorous examination of the factual event, just as it occurred. Perfecting the technique of investigation, they laboriously collected and edited the sources of information, and with incredible persistence and ingenuity ran illusive error to earth, letting the significance of the Middle Ages wait until it was certainly known "whether Charles the Fat was at Ingelheim or Lustnau on July 1, 887", shedding their "life-blood", in many a hard fought battle, "for the sublime truths of Sac and Soc". I have no quarrel with this so great concern with hoti's business. One of the first duties of man is not to be duped, to be aware of his world; and to derive the significance of human experience from events that never occurred is surely an enterprise of doubtful value. To establish the facts is always in order, and is indeed the first duty of the historian; but to suppose that the facts, once established in all their fullness, will 'speak for themselves' is an illusion. It was perhaps peculiarly the illusion of those historians of the last century who found some special magic in the word 'scientific'. The scientific historian, it seems, was one who set forth the facts without injecting any extraneous meaning into them. He was the objective man whom Nietzsche described—"a mirror: accustomed to prostration before something that wants to be known, . . . he waits until something comes, and then expands himself sensitively, so that even the light footsteps and gliding past of spiritual things may not be lost in his surface and film".[1] "It is not I who speak, but history which speaks through me", was Fustel's reproof to applauding students. "If a certain philosophy emerges from this scientific history, it must be permitted to emerge naturally, of its own accord, all but

[1] *Beyond Good and Evil*, p. 140.

independently of the will of the historian.[2]" Thus the scientific historian deliberately renounced philosophy only to submit to it without being aware. His philosophy was just this, that by not taking thought a cubit would be added to his stature. With no other preconception than the will to know, the historian would reflect in his surface and film the "order of events throughout past times in all places"; so that, in the fullness of time, when innumerable patient expert scholars, by "exhausting the sources", should have reflected without refracting the truth of all the facts, the definitive and impregnable meaning of human experience would emerge of its own accord to enlighten and emancipate mankind. Hoping to find something without looking for it, expecting to obtain final answers to life's riddle by resolutely refusing to ask questions—it was surely the most romantic species of realism yet invented, the oddest attempt ever made to get something for nothing!

That mood is passing. The fullness of time is not yet, overmuch learning proves a weariness to the flesh, and a younger generation that knows not Von Ranke is eager to believe that Fustel's counsel, if one of perfection, is equally one of futility. Even the most disinterested historian has at least one preconception, which is the fixed idea that he has none. The facts of history are already set forth, implicitly, in the sources; and the historian who could restate without reshaping them would, by submerging and suffocating the mind in diffuse existence, accomplish the superfluous task of depriving human experience of all significance. Left to themselves, the facts do not speak; left to themselves they do not exist, not really, since for all practical purposes there is no fact until some one affirms it. The least the historian can do with any historical fact is to select and affirm it. To select and affirm even the simplest complex of facts is to give them a certain place in a certain pattern of ideas, and this alone is sufficient to give them a special meaning. However 'hard' or 'cold' they may be, historical facts are after all not material substances which, like bricks or scantlings, possess definite shape and clear, persistent outline. To set forth historical facts is not comparable to dumping a barrow of bricks. A brick retains its form and pressure wherever placed; but the form and substance of historical facts, having a negotiable existence only in literary discourse, vary with the words employed to convey them. Since history is not part of the external material world, but an imaginative reconstruction of vanished events, its form and substance are in-

[2] Quoted in *English Historical Review*, V. 1.

separable: in the realm of literary discourse substance, being an idea, *is* form; and form, conveying the idea, *is* substance. It is thus not the undiscriminated fact, but the perceiving mind of the historian that speaks: the special meaning which the facts are made to convey emerges from the substance-form which the historian employs to re-create imaginatively a series of events not present to perception.

In constructing this substance-form of vanished events, the historian, like Mr. Everyman, like the bards and story-tellers of an earlier time, will be conditioned by the specious present in which alone he can be aware of his world. Being neither omniscient nor omnipresent, the historian is not the same person always and everywhere; and for him, as for Mr. Everyman, the form and significance of remembered events, like the extension and velocity of physical objects, will vary with the time and place of the observer. After fifty years we can clearly see that it was not history which spoke through Fustel, but Fustel who spoke through history. We see less clearly perhaps that the voice of Fustel was the voice, amplified and freed from static as one may say, of Mr. Everyman; what the admiring students applauded on that famous occasion was neither history nor Fustel, but a deftly colored pattern of selected events which Fustel fashioned, all the more skillfully for not being aware of doing so, in the service of Mr. Everyman's emotional needs—the emotional satisfaction, so essential to Frenchmen at that time, of perceiving that French institutions were not of German origin. And so it must always be. Played upon by all the diverse, unnoted influences of his own time, the historian will elicit history out of documents by the same principle, however more consciously and expertly applied, that Mr. Everyman employs to breed legends out of remembered episodes and oral tradition.

Berate him as we will for not reading our books, Mr. Everyman is stronger than we are, and sooner or later we must adapt our knowledge to his necessities. Otherwise he will leave us to our own devices, leave us it may be to cultivate a species of dry professional arrogance growing out of the thin soil of antiquarian research. Such research, valuable not in itself but for some ulterior purpose, will be of little import except in so far as it is transmuted into common knowledge. The history that lies inert in unread books does no work in the world. The history that does work in the world, the history that influences the course of history, is living history, that pattern of remembered events, whether true or false, that enlarges and enriches the collective specious present, the specious present of Mr. Everyman. It is for this

reason that the history of history is a record of the "new history" that in every age rises to confound and supplant the old. It should be a relief to us to renounce omniscience, to recognize that every generation, our own included, will, must inevitably, understand the past and anticipate the future in the light of its own restricted experience, must inevitably play on the dead whatever tricks it finds necessary for its own peace of mind. The appropriate trick for any age is not a malicious invention designed to take anyone in, but an unconscious and necessary effort on the part of 'society' to understand what it is doing in the light of what it has done and what it hopes to do. We, historians by profession, share in this necessary effort. But we do not impose our version of the human story on Mr. Everyman; in the end it is rather Mr. Everyman who imposes his version on us—compelling us, in an age of political revolution, to see that history is past politics, in an age of social stress and conflict to search for the economic interpretation. If we remain too long recalcitrant Mr. Everyman will ignore us, shelving our recondite works behind glass doors rarely opened. Our proper function is not to repeat the past but to make use of it, to correct and rationalize for common use Mr. Everyman's mythological adaptation of what actually happened. We are surely under bond to be as honest and as intelligent as human frailty permits; but the secret of our success in the long run is in conforming to the temper of Mr. Everyman, which we seem to guide only because we are so sure, eventually, to follow it.

Neither the value nor the dignity of history need suffer by regarding it as a foreshortened and incomplete representation of the reality that once was, an unstable pattern of remembered things redesigned and newly colored to suit the convenience of those who make use of it. Nor need our labors be the less highly prized because our task is limited, our contributions of incidental and temporary significance. History is an indispensable even though not the highest form of intellectual endeavor, since it makes, as Santayana says, a gift of "great interests . . . to the heart. A barbarian is no less subject to the past than is the civic man who knows what the past is and means to be loyal to it; but the barbarian, for want of a transpersonal memory, crawls among superstitions which he cannot understand or revoke and among people whom he may hate or love, but whom he can never think of raising to a higher plane, to the level of a purer happiness. The whole dignity of human endeavor is thus bound up with historic issues, and as conscience needs to be controlled by experience if it is

to become rational, so personal experience itself needs to be enlarged ideally if the failures and successes it reports are to touch impersonal interests."[3]

I do not present this view of history as one that is stable and must prevail. Whatever validity it may claim, it is certain, on its own premises, to be supplanted; for its premises, imposed upon us by the climate of opinion in which we live and think, predispose us to regard all things, and all principles of things, as no more than "inconstant modes or fashions", as but the "concurrence, renewed from moment to moment, of forces parting sooner or later on their way". It is the limitation of the genetic approach to human experience that it must be content to transform problems since it can never solve them. However accurately we may determine the 'facts' of history, the facts themselves and our interpretations of them, and our interpretation of our own interpretations, will be seen in a different perspective or a less vivid light as mankind moves into the unknown future. Regarded historically, as a process of becoming, man and his world can obviously be understood only tentatively, since it is by definition something still in the making, something as yet unfinished. Unfortunately for the 'permanent contribution' and the universally valid philosophy, time passes; time, the enemy of man as the Greeks thought; to-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow creeps in this petty pace, and all our yesterdays diminish and grow dim: so that, in the lengthening perspective of the centuries, even the most striking events (the Declaration of Independence, the French Revolution, the Great War itself; like the Diet of Worms before them, like the signing of the Magna Carta and the coronation of Charlemagne and the crossing of the Rubicon and the battle of Marathon) must inevitably, for posterity, fade away into pale replicas of the original picture, for each succeeding generation losing, as they recede into a more distant past, some significance that once was noted in them, some quality of enchantment that once was theirs.

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[3] *The Life of Reason*, V. 68.

THE EXPEDITION OF BARON DE POINTIS AGAINST CARTAGENA

EVEN the patriotic Frenchman does not always realize how long is the list of his naval heroes. He is often content to name Duquesne, Duguay-Trouin, and Jean Bart, and to suppose that the list is complete. There is a host of others who should not be forgotten. Among them is Jean Bernard Louis Desjeans, Baron de Pointis, whose daring exploits have suffered eclipse on account of the failures of the French navy toward the close of the reign of Louis XIV. Yet one of his expeditions played for a year a determining rôle in the maneuvers of the navies of England, France, and Holland, greatly alarmed both Spanish America and the English West Indies, influenced somewhat the course of peace negotiations at Ryswick, and materially increased English interest in the South Seas at the moment when the future of the Spanish empire became the predominant issue in European diplomacy.

Le Siècle de Louis Quatorze still stands resplendent for its wars and rumors of wars. It has, indeed, been generally assumed that this king was too deeply engrossed in military affairs to be interested in commerce and colonization, and that while he cherished the army he starved the navy. He was, however, deeply concerned about naval affairs, commerce, and colonies, as even a casual reference to the manuscripts and printed sources of the reign will indicate. Some have claimed that the attention paid to them was due to Colbert, but the emphasis on all three increased after his death, and was largely responsible for plunging France into three-quarters of a century of bitter, if intermittent, warfare which began with the accession of William III. to the English throne, and ended in 1763 only after it had spread from Havana to Manila.

The career of Pointis is a commentary upon this paragraph, and particularly is this true of his capture of Cartagena, the exploit for which he should best be remembered. He was born in 1645. By the age of forty he had risen in the navy to be captain of a royal vessel. Soon after, he was made commissary general of marines and a chevalier of the Order of St. Louis. At Beachy Head in 1690 he commanded a ship of the line. After the battle of La Hogue two years later, when Louis XIV. began gradually (more gradually, indeed, than has usually

been appreciated) to stress privateering rather than regular naval warfare, Pointis saw active service around Brest and Toulon.[1]

He was no longer an obscure figure when, in 1696, France was in such desperate financial straits after seven years of war that the king thought seriously of attempting to tap the vast mineral resources of Spanish America. For three years Louis had sought to develop his trade in that area, and with some degree of success through the Portuguese and by way of Buenos Aires. He also considered the possibility of utilizing Martinique and Santo Domingo as centers from which to gain control of the Caribbean.[2] At the latter island he had stationed Jean Ducasse, one of the most remarkable Frenchmen of his age, whose versatility as a business man, colonial administrator, and naval officer should cause him to rank high in French annals.[3]

European interest in the Caribbean and South Sea had been steadily increasing for a century and a half. Whereas two nations fought for the possession of the vast empire of Canada, a half dozen vied with each other in the Caribbean. Colbert was deeply concerned with that region during the era of the buccaneers, in which may be found the raw stuff for fifty romances; a statement equally true of the thrilling exploits somewhat later of the French privateers around St. Malo and Dunkirk, as the careers of Duguay-Trouin and Bart sufficiently attest.[4] Pointis in a sense connects the two areas, as he served in both. Six years before Colbert's death Cayenne was captured from the Dutch, by which time the lilies of France floated on the coast of Madagascar and the banks of the Mississippi. A decade later French and English

[1] A Sieur de Pontis was sent by Louis XIV. in 1689 on a mission to Ireland. On the basis of his report that Ireland was still firmly attached to James II., Louis shortly sent James thither. Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 173, f. 276. I have failed to connect him definitely with Baron de Pointis, although George Stepney, probably the best informed English diplomat of the time, twice referred to the baron as "Sieur", and once as "sir". P. R. O., S. P., For., Milit. Expeds., 87/1, 105/56, f. 113 (cited below as S. P.). M. Callières, a French plenipotentiary at Ryswick, also refers to him as "sieur". Bib., Nat., Petit Fonds, 24,983, f. 137[b]. See Bib. de la Marine, MSS. nos. 142, 249, and Dépôt de la Guerre, Arch. Hist., no. 1428.

[2] Arch. de la Marine (cited below as Marine), B 2/90, f. 315; B 2/92, ff. 323, 453; B 2/124, f. 82; B 7/221. Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Portugal, vol. 28, f. 279; G. Scelle, *La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille*, II. 108; E. W. Dahlgren, *Le Commerce de la Mer du Sud jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht*, p. 96.

[3] A considerable number of his letters are found in the Archives des Colonies (cited below as Cols.), C/9, A/3. R. du Casse, *L'Amiral du Casse* (Paris, 1876) is too laudatory of Ducasse and too critical of Pointis.

[4] P. Villestreux, *Deux Corsaires Malouins;* H. Malo, *Les Corsaires Dunkerquois et Jean Bart;* M. J. Poulin, *Duguay-Trouin;* S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy.*

filibusterers coöperated in pillaging Guayaquil. By the early spring of 1696 Louis XIV., as already remarked, was driven to consider the economic penetration of the area in America heretofore monopolized by Spain. The particular occasion was a double misfortune at home: the destruction of his vast military stores at Givet, and the collapse of his ambitious project for another descent upon Britain.[5]

Fortunately for France, Louis's astute diplomacy detached Savoy from the Grand Alliance, releasing thirty thousand French troops with which he might possibly retrieve the prestige lost the previous autumn through William III.'s capture of Namur. This prospect, however, was somewhat illusory as he lacked money to carry out any ambitious plan. He looked, therefore, expectantly toward the Spanish Indies and the capture of the galleons to furnish the sinews of war. France might also be able to gain some diplomatic pawns in the area and thus force Spain out of the war. The year previous the king had been sufficiently impressed with the possibilities to furnish six small ships to Captain de Gennes, of the French navy, who defrayed the expense of his expedition to the South Seas by securing handsome subscriptions from such notables as Marshal Vauban and Mme. de Montespan.[6]

Pointis and Ducasse were simultaneously urging the king to attempt something on a larger scale in the Caribbean. In January, 1696, the former submitted such a project to Jérôme de Pontchartrain, minister of marine. While it was under consideration, two smaller forces were dispatched to the region under the Chevalier Desaugiers and Petit Renaud, in the hope that they might capture the Spanish galleons reputed to be worth £15,000,000 sterling. Ducasse came into close contact with both men and talked over the great advantage of sending a really powerful squadron thither.[7] Immediately upon Desaugiers's return to France, preparations were put in train to send him back. His comprehensive instructions drawn up in July, 1696, provided for the capture of "l'Armadille d'Espagne, . . . une perte considerable pour les

5 William III. to Grandpensionary Heinsius, Mar. 10/20, 1695/6, Mackintosh Papers, British Museum, Add. MSS., 34,504, f. 216b; London *Gazette*, Mar. 12, 16.

6 François Froger, *Relation d'un Voyage fait en 1695, 1696, et 1697, aux Côtes d'Afrique, Detroit de Magellan . . . par une Escadre de Vaisseaux du Roy, commandée par M. de Gennes* (Paris, 1698). Mr. R. C. Anderson, F. S. A., kindly permitted me to examine a curious English manuscript variant of this book, in which the voyage is supposedly made by its anonymous English author.

7 Bib. Nat., Clairambault MSS., 878, f. 77. Pontchartrain to Renaud, Mar. 5/15, 1695/6, Marine, B 2/115, ff. 179, 638; Journal de Dumanoir, Marine, B 4/17; *Downthire MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.), I. 748.

Espagnols, qui interromproit leur commerce, mettroit en sûreté, au moins pour deux ou trois années la Colonie de Saint Domingue". He was also, if possible, to proceed against Jamaica, and then sail for the coast of Honduras. Pontchartrain and the king were so intensely interested in sending out this preliminary expedition at once that its equipment was given precedence over all others. Officials were informed that Desaugiers's voyage "est fort pressé", but its destination was kept a secret even from the captains who were to join him.[8]

Another squadron of thirteen warships under Château-Renault was to supplement the work of Desaugiers by lying in wait off the Spanish coast for the homeward-bound Mexican fleet and galleons. Pontchartrain trenchantly reminded the former that his success might well force Spain to withdraw from the war, as England was no longer able to subsidize her. He insisted that the capture of the galleons was of far greater national importance than the protection of the Levant fleet.[9] Late in May, 1696, Pointis's project was also approved by the king, who granted him the use of twenty ships, ten of them of fifty-eight to ninety guns. It was stipulated that the monarch was to share generously in the profits of the enterprise. In July Pointis received his instructions, which gave him a sort of roving commission to proceed in search of the galleons and capture such places in the Caribbean as seemed to him most advisable. Pointis, like Gennes, had to raise the money necessary to cover the expenses of the expedition. He had indeed already secured a large number of subscriptions toward the enterprise, which he hoped might start before the close of September. Meanwhile, Desaugiers carried orders to Ducasse to prepare for the arrival of Pointis, and to have ready, if the safety of his colony would permit, a thousand to twelve hundred men to aid in whatever project should be undertaken.[10]

[8] Marine, B 2/113, ff. 12–22; B 2/114, ff. 306–312; B 2/117, ff. 38–153, *passim;* B 3/96, f. 191; B 4/17, ff. 42, 362–367; Ducasse to Pontchartrain, June 10/20, Cols., C/9, A/3. The main part of these instructions is printed somewhat inaccurately in P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de S. Domingue* (Paris, 1731), II. 292–295.

[9] Instructions and letters to Château-Renault, July-August, Marine, B 2/114, f. 192. See also Sevin de Quincy, *Histoire Militaire du Règne de Louis le Grand* (Paris, 1726), III. 281.

[10] Marine, B 2/113, f. 312; B 2/114, ff. 184, 250; B 2/117, f. 459; B 2/118, ff. 91, 97; B 4/17, f. 404; J. B. L. Desjean, Baron de Pointis, *Relation de l'Expédition de Carthagene, faite par les François en M.DC.XCVII.* (Amsterdam, 1698); Charlevoix, II. 298; R. du Casse, *L'Amiral du Casse,* pp. 131–134. By the reports of English secret service agents in September, Pointis was to have "some great ships". P. R. O., Admiralty, 1/4084 (cited below as Adm.).

Prospects appeared rather bright for Pointis until the persistence of peace rumors threatened to ruin all his plans. He not only found it difficult to raise additional money, but some of his supporters repudiated their subscriptions. He was further embarrassed by Pontchartrain's pointed inquiry as to whether he had sent sufficient funds to Brest to provision the fleet granted him for eight months.[11] Although the English ministers were duly informed of all these things by their industrious spies in France, they could make little out of the great activity in French ports. At one moment the English admiralty feared that the Marquis de Nesmond as well as Château-Renault had gone in search of the galleons; at another they were informed that Pointis was already at sea.[12]

Pointis, however, was far from ready. His financial difficulties appeared almost insurmountable, even with the encouragement given his project by the king. At last Louis XIV. strongly advised him to reduce the size of his force rather than spend more time in fruitless attempts to raise the needed money. With the greatest reluctance Pointis obeyed the royal command. In these days the English admiralty was much more disturbed over Château-Renault's opportunities for mischief around the Straits than by the preparations of Pointis. As a consequence, early in November they sent Vice Admiral John Neville with fifteen English and Dutch warships to Cadiz with instructions to protect the inward-bound Turkish fleet and the Spanish flota.[13] Although repeatedly informed that Pointis would sail before the middle of November, the English were completely in the dark as to his destination. The ministry and William III. feared that he might land at some point on the British coast, probably in Ireland, and for a few weeks they were primarily concerned in preparing against such a contingency.[14] This mystification was largely due to news of the tremendous preparations in French harbors, as well as to the size and nature of Pointis's force, which was well supplied with soldiers, bombs,

[11] Letters of Pointis, Oct. 12/22, Marine, B 2/113; B 3/100; Pointis, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[12] Rijksarchief, Heinsius Papers, 11[b]; Bib. Nat., Petit Fonds, 24,983, f. 117; News Letters from Paris, Nov. 13/23, S. P., 101/22; Paris advices, Adm., 1/4084, ff. 419, 547, 608.

[13] Warrant appointing Neville commander in chief in the Mediterranean, Nov. 2. Adm., 6/4.

[14] William III. to Heinsius, Dec. 8/18, 15/25, Mackintosh Papers, B. M., Add. MSS., 34,505, ff. 12–16; Callières to Mme. d'Huxelles, Bib. Nat., Petit Fonds, 24,983, f. 137; G. Stepney to W. Blathwayt, Dec. 4/14, S. P., 105/56, f. 113; L'Hermitage, Dutch secretary in London, to States General, Nov. 24, B. M., Add. MSS., 17,677QQ, f. 612; Admiralty to Shovel, Dec. 13, Adm. 2/390; *Downshire MSS.*, I. 706–708.

and other equipment that suggested either a landing or a siege. They refused to believe that he was taking such large ships very far, although his supply of provisions pointed to a long voyage.[15] In addition, they could not forget that the defection of Savoy had released 30,000 soldiers who might be used to effect a landing in Britain.

Fortunately for the admiralty, Pointis was further delayed not only by his lack of money, but also by the tardiness of the flutes (*traversiers*) expected from Rochefort, which threatened to ruin all his hopes. Only as the time for his departure drew near was the English ministry convinced that his probable point of attack would be Curaçao or Jamaica. As Pointis was on the point of sailing, Whitehall learned from its secret agents that he was intending to attack Cartagena, probably next to Havana the wealthiest city in America. As a matter of fact, his destination was not finally decided upon until after he reached the Caribbean. The English authorities, however, sent instructions forthwith to Neville to sail to the Madeiras, await reënforcements, and then proceed to Barbados.[16]

Despite William III.'s personal interest and the obvious necessity for haste, the admiralty found great difficulty in equipping a fresh squadron to join Neville as the victualers claimed they could not provision it without more ready money. Pointis, too, was held back for similar reasons. Later still, after he had arranged his finances and the flutes at length arrived, he was delayed for days by contrary winds. He did not leave Brest until December 28 (Old Style), sailing directly to Santo Domingo, as a spy immediately reported to the admiralty.[17] Despite the weeks of warning, and his additional six weeks' delay, Pointis actually got away some days before Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel arrived before the port.[18]

The expedition of Pointis was only one important part of the French naval program for 1697. Louis XIV. was also leaning heavily

[15] B. M., Add. MSS., 28,898, f. 483; S. P., 67/2, f. 139; letter to Sir W. Trumbull, secretary of state, Dec. 17, *Downshire MSS.*, I. 716.

[16] Paris advice, Adm., 1/4085, f. 635. Having received "several credible advices" that Pointis's squadron was "designed and intended for the West Indies to insult some of ours and the King of Spain's Dominions there", the admiralty sent Neville at once to the Madeiras. *Ibid.*, f. 451. See also S. P., 105/56, f. 113.

[17] Bib. Nat., Petit Fonds, 24,983, f. 169; Marine, B 2/121, ff. 20, 30; Adm., 1/4085, f. 743; *Relation de ce qui s'est fait à la Prise de Cartagene . . . par l'Escadre commandée par Mr. de Pointis* (Brussels, 1698), pp. 3 ff. This last is a pamphlet written by an officer under Pointis. From it Quincy drew his account of the expedition.

[18] B. M., Add. MSS., 17,677RR, ff. 164, 181; S. P., 8/16, no. 125; *Buccleuch MSS.* (H. M. C.), II. 436; W. Penn to Trumbull, *Downshire MSS.*, I. 728; N. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs* (Oxford, 1857), IV. 168.

upon Bart and Duguay-Trouin at home, and upon Lemoyne d'Iberville and the Marquis de Nesmond "dans l'Amérique septentrionale". The king carefully considered at least two naval plans which were drawn up for the year. The first was a highly ambitious scheme to place upon the sea a force sufficiently powerful to surprise the allies (who imagined that French credit was too low to attempt much), and prevent the commerce of the maritime powers passing wherever it pleased. As soon, however, as he was able to reckon the cost in time and money, Louis abandoned it in favor of the alternative plan for the immediate equipment of twelve fast frigates. With these he could attempt more enterprises such as those of previous years undertaken by Bart, who was able with a small force to paralyze the trade of the maritime powers to the northward, and keep two score of their warships busy. In general, the French king felt that it was almost as effective to spread alarm as to fight. The new policy provided for the fitting out of Duguay-Trouin and Bart for work near the French coast, for expeditions against Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland, and possibly against Surinam as well.[19]

In all their schemes the French monarch and his advisers were most regardful of the interests of Pointis and of the men who had subscribed three hundred thousand livres toward his enterprise. Louis XIV. himself was fearful lest peace come before Pointis sailed, but made it clear that if he reached the Caribbean before the treaty was actually signed, the customary period for notification beyond the line would permit him to carry out his plans unhindered.[20] In fact, the French plenipotentiaries, who proceeded to Ryswick at the beginning of the year, negotiated for many weeks with one eye on the news letters about Pointis.[21]

[19] The first project shows a clear realization of the importance of Anglo-Dutch maritime power. "Les forces maritimes des anglois et hollandois sont la base de leurs états, et le seul soutien de leur commerce et de leurs colonies. Il est certain qu'ils seroient beaucoup plus sensibles aux pertes qu'ils recevroient de ce coste là qu'à touttes les conquestes que Sa Ma'te pourroit faire sur la terre." Marine, B 2/127, f. 540.

[20] "Une memoire particuliere sur l'armement de Mr. de Pointis", Marine, B 2/127, f. 555. In his little book Pointis also states that Louis promised to reimburse him and his backers in the event of an early peace. Both the king and his minister repeatedly tried to hurry his departure. "Il est triste de luy voir perdre le fruit de son armement par le retardement des traversiers." Pontchartrain to Château-Renault, Marine, B 2/124, f. 75.

[21] Sir P. Rycaut to Sir J. Williamson, one of the English plenipotentiaries, June 12/22, July 6/16, B. M., Lansdowne MSS., 1153, ff. 51, 54; letters of Williamson and William Blathwayt, July 5–7, S. P., 84/223; 82/19, f. 77. See also the *Portledge Papers* (R. J. Kerr and Ida C. Duncan, eds.), p. 261.

The information that Pointis had sailed left a bad impression in England, where it was generally assumed that naval administration was certainly inefficient, probably corrupt. It is necessary to examine briefly the grounds for these accusations, as they help explain the outcome of the expedition. The admiralty labored to reënforce Neville, but its endeavors were complicated by the urgent necessity of providing convoys for West India merchantmen, which had waited long in port. A month, therefore, passed before Captain George Meese was selected to command the squadron for the Madeiras.[22] William III. aroused the indignation of Caribbean merchants by denying the use of Meese's fleet as a convoy that it might sail more quickly. The admiralty marveled at the size of Pointis's ships, yet it did not provide Neville or Meese with a vessel which could match Pointis's flagship in armament. Even as the admiralty despaired of getting Meese off, Bilboa merchants asked for a convoy of four ships, and Jamaica merchants begged protection for their incoming fleet. Both demands were promptly granted, which suggests that the king and the admiralty were working at cross-purposes. Some authorities believe that French privateers played an insignificant rôle in the war,[23] but final judgment must be suspended until a study of the Anglo-Dutch convoy system is made from English and French archives.

Six weeks after Pointis sailed Meese was still in port, complaining of a lack of men and bread for the voyage. It was the same story of delays that characterized the three previous English expeditions to the Caribbean during the war. The victualers replied that without cash they were helpless, whereupon the treasury permitted them to discount tallies upon the best terms possible. Advice was sent the West India governors that a strong squadron would soon be dispatched thither. This news found them in a panic, for Pointis was so well advertised that the Jamaica council had reported him in the Caribbean three weeks before his arrival. Not until the second week in March did Meese sail. Like Pointis, he was twice forced back by contrary winds. When he eventually set forth his fleet was so badly handled

[22] Admiralty Minutes, Jan. 20 and 22, Adm., 3/13, 2/222, f. 447; B. M., Add. MSS., 9314, f. 160. This decision of the sovereign was reached only after a bitter struggle in the admiralty and the ministry, into which the lords justices and even the king were finally drawn. Meese was, however, to assure the merchants that the nation's service absolutely required that he sail without a convoy. Adm., 7/693, f. 36; 2/301, f. 59; Admiralty Minutes, Feb. 19, Adm., 3/284. For Meese's instructions, see Adm., 1/4086, f. 476.

[23] Admiralty Minutes, Jan. 20, Adm., 3/13. See G. N. Clark, *The Dutch Alliance and the War against French Trade, 1688–1697.*

by storms that only a portion of it called at the Madeiras where Neville had been waiting over two months.[24]

Pointis, meanwhile, had reached Santo Domingo. His meeting with Ducasse was most unfortunate, as was his attitude toward the buccaneers whom Ducasse had kept together. It was only another illustration of the supercilious manner usually displayed by the professional naval officer toward colonial administrators and volunteers. Nothing that Ducasse had done, and he had done much, pleased Pointis. The French court, he claimed, had led him to expect some twenty-five hundred men from Santo Domingo, and only one-fourth of that number were in evidence.[25] He complained also that Desaugiers, who was to have joined him, having missed his instructions, had sailed for France, leaving behind only a part of his ships.

If Ducasse had been equally irritable, the expedition might have been ruined before it started. Despite the insults to which he was subjected, Ducasse insisted upon participating in the expedition, and eventually found nearly twelve hundred men for Pointis.[26] Without question they were a vile lot. Even Ducasse had earlier complained that they were incapable of discipline. These buccaneers, whether French or English, had for a generation been a law unto themselves, and masters of the West Indies. They had their own customs and regulations, extending even to a system of insurance covering death and accidents. Moreover, they knew the Caribbean, and were thoroughly familiar with the Spanish method of fighting. Nevertheless, had it not been for Ducasse this powerful force would have been lost to Pointis.

A fundamental difference of opinion between the two leaders was evident from the outset. Pointis thought primarily of booty and glory; Ducasse of the future of his colony and of the French in the West Indies. Although Louis XIV. and Pontchartrain favored Ducasse's scheme of conquering the entire Caribbean area and particularly the Spanish portion of Santo Domingo, the necessary expense seemed to

[24] Adm., 7/693, f. 35; 2/391, ff. 31–37; Admiralty Minutes, Feb. 6, Adm., 3/284. The logs of two of Neville's squadron and Meese's flagship indicate that Neville reached the Madeiras on Jan. 19, and Meese on Mar. 20, Adm., 51/4130, 51/4325, 52/95, 52/119.

[25] Du Casse, *L'Amiral du Casse*, p. 138; Pointis, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–12; [J. Ducasse], *Relation Fidèle de l'Expedition de Carthagène* (Paris [1699]). Ducasse's instructions mentioned only a thousand or twelve hundred, and then only if they could be spared from the defense of the island. They may have referred, however, to the colonials independent of the buccaneers.

[26] Relation de la Prise de Carthagène, Cols., C/9, A/3; Pointis, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

them far more than they could bear. They supported the project of Pointis as an alternative because it offered a chance of injuring the enemy and of replenishing an empty treasury at little risk and cost. The squadron put at the disposal of Pointis would otherwise have been rotting in port.

Ducasse's heart was set, however, upon driving the Spaniards from Santo Domingo, which he confidently stated was worth a thousand Canadas. Since the court would not support his scheme, he felt that Pointis should concentrate all his energies upon capturing the galleons. Ducasse learned that they were probably at Porto Bello, which Pointis thought it unwise to attack. At first the latter decided on Vera Cruz, but soon returned to his favorite project of capturing Cartagena. Ducasse in turn thought such an endeavor would be an act of folly. He knew that it was strongly defended and supposed that the galleons were at Porto Bello. To Ducasse, Jamaica seemed a much better point of attack. From that time on, everything that Pointis did was, in the eyes of Ducasse, absolutely contrary to what he should have done, for the governor could not overlook Pointis's refusal to make the galleons his primary object.[27]

Although entirely out of sympathy with the purpose of the expedition, Ducasse gave it his steadfast support. After Pointis had promised, in writing, that the buccaneers should share equally with the soldiers and sailors, "homme pour homme", in the distribution of the booty, Ducasse was able to secure their coöperation. Pointis still grumbled that there were two thousand fewer men than he had counted upon to carry out his *coup;* Desaugiers had taken a thousand home, and Ducasse had been unable to furnish the number expected from the French islands. Yet his force consisted of more than a score of vessels, and between four and five thousand men, well equipped with munitions and materials for a siege.[28] With it he began his attack on Cartagena on April 2/12, three days after Meese had reached the Madeiras, and eleven before the advance guard of the English squadron had arrived at Barbados.

Neville's ships were in bad condition when they anchored at Barbados. He consequently remained a fortnight to refit. The English colonists seemed badly informed about the French, and Neville

[27] Clairambault MSS., 878, ff. 81–88; Pointis, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Ducasse to Pontchartrain, Jan. 25 (in cipher), Feb. 4, Cols., C/9, A/3. See also Père Plumier's Mémoire in this last volume.

[28] *Relation de ce qui s'est fait*, p. 25; *Relation Fidèle*, pp. 9, 16.

learned little during his stay. At last he proceeded in a rather leisurely fashion toward the Leeward Islands, where he conferred with Colonel Christopher Codrington, the governor, who believed that Pointis was planning to attack Spanish Santo Domingo. The English commander, however, was well on his way to Jamaica before he received any definite news of the enemy—in itself a sufficient commentary upon the watchfulness and coöperation among the English colonial authorities in the Caribbean. As early as May 11/21, Neville received information that should have led him to suspect that Pointis was before Cartagena. Four days later, upon his arrival at Jamaica, this suspicion was confirmed. Nevertheless, he stopped there ten precious days, a circumstance which appears almost inexplicable as he had just spent two weeks at Barbados refreshing his force.[29] Not until May 25/June 4 did the splendid Anglo-Dutch fleet of twenty-eight ships at last sail in quest of Pointis.

Pointis had improved the shining hours during which he was undisturbed by Neville. Despite the forebodings of Ducasse, who nevertheless fought like one inspired and was three times wounded, Pointis went from one victory to another until Cartagena surrendered unconditionally on April 24/May 4. The French losses in the attack were put at "seven hundred men, four hundred filibusterers and forty-two officers".[30] Pointis at once proceeded to put the city to ransom, and collected from the inhabitants an enormous sum, variously estimated at anywhere from eight to forty million livres. The evidence favors the lower figure for the gold and silver alone.[31]

The capture of Cartagena must be classed as a remarkable achievement accomplished in the face of apparently insuperable obstacles. Ducasse attributed the fortunate outcome of the project entirely to the cowardice of the Spanish authorities. Yet not even he could deny that

[29] Logs of the *Trident*, *Dolphin*, and *Bristol*, Adm., 51/134, 51/254, 51/4743, 52/114. See also Josiah Burchett, *A Complete History of the Most Remarkable Transactions at Sea* (London, 1720), pp. 552 ff; London *Gazette*, no. 3298; logs of the *Biddeford* and *Gosport*, Adm., 51/108, 51/4200. The winds were not particularly favorable, and their direction very unusual for that season of the year, yet it is clear from the logs of several of the squadron that the weather did not become squally for some days after Neville's arrival.

[30] Adm., 1/4085, f. 823; *Relation de ce qui s'est fait*, pp. 67, 90; Relation de la Prise de Carthagène.

[31] The value of all the booty collected under the direction of Pointis was probably about ten million livres. See, however, Pointis, *op. cit.*, p. 63; *Relation Fidèle:* A. de Boislisle, ed., *Mémoires de Saint-Simon* (Paris, 1884), IV. 214; Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, II. 337; *Hastings MSS.* (H. M. C.), II. 295. It is obviously impossible to estimate the amount of loot gathered independently.

Pointis was an inspiring leader who performed prodigies of valor. Although severely wounded early in the investment of the place, he had continued to direct the operations, and with Ducasse's coöperation, secured invaluable service from the buccaneers.

These freebooters looked on with great concern as Pointis carefully stowed away the rich booty. On their behalf Ducasse demanded an accounting. He seemed surprised to learn that the enterprise in its origin was a sort of joint-stock affair, in which the king and other contributors were to share liberally in its profits.[32] Among the filibusterers the phrase "homme pour homme" meant that all the men shared equally in the division of the entire booty. They were consequently indignant to learn that they would receive but a small fraction of the loot, and furious at Pointis's suggestion that they should in lieu thereof accept a very modest wage such as they had previously received from Desaugiers and Petit Renaud for similar services. It was in reality an irreconcilable conflict, for it is obvious that Pointis could not waive the claims of the king and his financial backers, who had made the venture possible, and that the colonists would be dissatisfied with less than a quarter of the spoils. The advantage of possession lay with Pointis, who immediately prepared to sail for Santo Domingo. The buccaneers threatened to attack his flagship, and were only dissuaded when Ducasse promised to lay their case before the king.

A serious epidemic now broke out among the French crews and nearly two hundred men died within a few days. Many more were ill. The pestilence and the danger from the English fleet made the departure of Pointis extremely urgent, although Ducasse severely criticized him for abandoning so important and strategic a city as Cartagena.[33] It is interesting to speculate upon what might have happened to Pointis had Neville at that moment appeared off Cartagena and blockaded it!

The Anglo-Dutch fleet was still at Jamaica awaiting favorable winds when Pointis left the pillaged city with the treasure safely stored away in his ships. He now had only twelve. Some of the others were

[32] It is difficult to reconcile Ducasse's statements in the *Relation Fidèle* and in his later letters with his statements before Pointis arrived in the Caribbean. See Clairambault MSS., 878, and Cols., C/9, A/3.

[33] Sieur Faubertan to Pontchartrain, Marine, B 4/18, ff. 334, 340; Mémoire de du Casse in *L'Amiral du Casse*, pp. 189 ff.; Pointis, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 129; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1697*, p. 247. The Relation de la Prise de Carthagène defends Pointis's action as necessary on account of the dangers from contagion and from Neville's squadron.

infected; the rest were needed by the buccaneers. Learning that Neville was in the immediate vicinity, he changed his route toward the Bahama Channel. With half his crew incapacitated, he had no desire to meet an enemy more than twice his strength. Yet meet him he did. For two days he fought off the attack of Neville's fresh squadron, and eventually ran away from it, with the loss of a small flyboat and a converted Spanish prize. The latter, reputed to be worth £200,000, was captured by a Dutch warship. Pointis's leadership was effective, and the disposition of his ships masterly, yet it is difficult to understand why Neville allowed so rich a prize to escape. Pointis had the advantage of the wind, it is true, and the heavy gales played havoc with the rigging of the English ships as they crowded on all sail in pursuit. The French ships stood up better, and one is forced to conclude that the English equipment was defective, or badly handled, or both. At least six of the English ships, including those of the two admirals, had serious trouble with their masts and sails during the pursuit.[34]

While Neville gathered together his battered fleet, Pointis proceeded through the Straits of Florida. He was soon forced to sink three of his ships for the lack of crews to man them, so heavy a toll had the epidemic and the battle taken of his men. A shortage of water also compelled him to turn toward Newfoundland. He missed the French colony of Plaisance, and anchored in Conception Bay, only eight leagues from St. John's. At St. John's there lay at anchor eight English warships, recently arrived from England. Pointis's danger was great. Although Captain John Norris, the English commander, at first thought that he had encountered Nesmond, who was daily expected from France, he soon learned that it was Pointis's fleet, laden with rich booty.[35] Here was a dazzling opportunity.

Pointis decided to assume the offensive. Having at his leisure completed the refreshment of his little squadron, he sailed out, to use his own words:

> . . . devant St. Juhans attaquer les ennemis s'ils estoient dehors, mais apparemment quelque reflexion sur la force et la grosseur de nos Vaisseaux les avoit empêcher de sortir et ce port estant si estroit qu'on le ferme avec

[34] For an account of the battle, see the logs of the *Warwick*, the *Bristol*, and the *Gosport*, which were in the thick of it. Adm., 51/134, 51/4388, 51/4200, 52/7, 52/119, 52/38; also the captain's log of the flagship *Cambridge* for May 31, Adm., 51/151, and of the *Rupert*, Adm., 51/4325, as well as the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: America and West Indies, 1696–1697*, p. 510.

[35] Norris to admiralty, Aug. 13, Adm., 2/24; B. M., Add. MSS., 5488, f. 188; Burchett, *op. cit.*, pp. 559 ff.

une Estacade et qu'il n'est pas possible d'y rien entreprendre, je me contentay de me montrer, et de leur offrir le combat, à quoy ne voyant rien répondre nous fimes route pour les costes de France le 8 du même mois d'Aoust.[36]

The English were imposed upon not only by the size of his vessels, but by his boldness, for they could not believe that he would have dared to risk his squadron or his booty unless Nesmond were in the offing. Once more Pointis had profited by the mistakes of his enemies.

Although Neville might easily have spared a fast frigate to carry to the admiralty the news of Pointis's escape, he had failed to do so. The English ministers were impatient for news and decided that they must at all costs prevent the return of Pointis to Brest. They felt that English naval prestige would be dealt a heavy blow if he returned safely from the West Indies laden with booty. During the trying summer of 1697 English affairs seemed at a very low ebb. The admiralty was concerned, not only about Pointis, but with providing numerous merchant convoys and with keeping the enterprising Bart in Dunkirk. They complained to the lords justices of the victualers; the victualers complained of the treasury and their lack of ready money; the lords of the treasury complained of the contractors, as well as of the high price and poor quality of provisions; the admirals complained of the shortness of men and the vileness of the food.[37] Amidst these mutual recriminations, the attention paid to Pointis's return seems remarkable, especially when it is remembered that until a late date the admiralty knew nothing of the looting of Cartagena. They feared, however, that he had captured the galleons and that he might bring disaster to the numerous and well laden Virginia and Barbados fleets, which were daily expected with their rich cargoes and which meant so much to the treasury in customs duties.

The admiralty worked hard equipping ships for the convoys and the blockades. All sorts of makeshifts were resorted to in the hope of tiding over the crisis. The larger ships were laid up and their complements used to man the smaller ones; food and men were borrowed from ship to ship until the administration of the royal navy

[36] Pointis, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 f. See log of the fireship *Blaze*, Adm., 51/115.

[37] J. Ellis to Williamson, Aug. 6, S. P., 84/223; B. M., Add. MSS., 34,348, f. 65; admiralty memorial to lords justices, Adm., 7/334, f. 81; admiralty to victualers, Aug. 11, Adm., 2/392; Admiralty Minute, Aug. 10, Adm., 3/284. See also S. P., 44/100, f. 290.

suggested chaos.[38] For a season the French feared that this activity in English seaports presaged another attack upon their coasts, but they soon concluded that these preparations were mainly directed against Pointis and Bart. Both Pontchartrain and the king were concerned for Pointis, and the French plenipotentiaries delayed peace negotiations partly in the hope of gaining favorable information of him. They all feared, however, lest his force should be destroyed by the Anglo-Dutch fleet, but when they learned that he had both sacked Cartagena and escaped from Neville, they were doubly anxious that he bring his treasure safely to France.[39]

On the other hand, the English admiralty feared that Pointis and Nesmond might have a rendezvous at Plaisance, recapture St. John's, and come home in sufficient strength to overpower the force cruising before Brest. They warned the ranking admiral, Sir George Rooke, of this danger, and emphasized the great service he would perform by intercepting Pointis. Rooke, however, had just dispatched Captain Thomas Harlowe with six ships, none over eighty guns, and one a fireship, to cruise in the soundings to protect the incoming trade.[40] The admiral must certainly have anticipated the possibility that Harlowe might meet with a much more powerful squadron, as Rooke knew nothing of the three ships that Pointis had sunk and the three diverted at Newfoundland.

Meanwhile, Pointis was making the best of his way toward Brest, when he encountered Harlowe some two hundred and fifty miles off the Scilly Islands. Despite all the warning he had received, or should have received, Harlowe was surprised, and obviously unprepared. At first he thought he had come up with the long expected West India squadron. The initiative immediately passed to Pointis, who once more decided to fight, this time because he was on his accustomed cruising ground. Harlowe conceded that the French (he seemed unaware that it was Pointis) began the battle. After a three hour engagement the six French ships, which had been more than seven months at sea, sailed away from the English squadron fresh from

[38] The examination of the logs of a score of ships during July and August indicates that the greatest confusion existed. See, however, the Earl of Orford's suggestion for laying up all the three-deckers. Adm., 2/393.

[39] Letters of Pontchartrain, Marine, B 2/126, ff. 89–94, 113, 132, 174, 261–280, *passim;* B 3/100 f. 491; news letters, S. P., 101/23; Adm., 1/4085, ff. 415, 769, 785, 824.

[40] Admiralty to Rooke, Aug. 5, Adm., 2/392; Admiralty Minutes, Aug. 5 and 10, Adm., 3/284; L'Hermitage to States General, Aug. 10, B. M., Add. MSS., 17,677RR, f. 418; *Hastings MSS.*, II. 294.

Torbay.[41] For a third time Pointis had met a stronger force, supposedly in better condition, and got safely away with few casualties and all his booty. He had still to face a fourth hazard, the blockading squadron before Brest.

In this engagement Harlowe's ships were clearly outsailed and outfought. Yet their losses were almost negligible, and it seems obvious that the English sailors did not fight with their usual zest. It is highly probable that they were poorly led; it is certain that they were abominably fed. Only a few weeks before, Rooke had warned the admiralty that unless more suitable food were quickly furnished, his ships would be floating hospitals rather than men-of-war. Shovel likewise informed them that his men were daily collapsing upon the decks from scurvy, and that, too, almost in sight of land![42]

The ministry refused to believe for a time that Harlowe had fought Pointis. They thought that he had met Château-Renault or Nesmond, for to them it was inconceivable that Pointis could escape from clean English ships. For a fortnight they redoubled their efforts to keep Pointis out of Brest. Vice Admiral Matthew Aylmer was given as his sole task the interception of Pointis, and Rooke was urged to go to sea himself.[43] Such precautions came too late, for on August 18/28, four days after his first encounter with Harlowe, their quarry surmounted the last difficulty in his way by slipping through the cordon of English ships into Brest.

News of Pointis's exploits at the expense of the English navy caused a wave of indignation to spread through England. It was largely directed against the luckless Harlowe. The admiralty finally ordered him court-martialed, although for a while they considered the possibility of a more formal trial in Westminster Hall. About the same time it was learned that Bart had likewise crept through the Anglo-Dutch blockading fleet of thirty ships off Dunkirk, and was en route to Danzig with his small squadron, convoying the Prince of Conti, a cousin of Louis XIV., who was going thence to promote his candi-

[41] Log of Harlowe's ship, *Torbay*, Adm., 51/4743; Pointis, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–139; *Relation de ce qui s'est fait*, pp. 130–135; logs of the *Sandwich* (52/108), and the *Royal William* (51/4321). Of the logs available of the English ships in the battle, only one, that by the captain of the *Defyance* (Adm., 51/237) mentions Pointis by name. See also G. P. R. James, ed., *Letters illustrative of the Reign of William III.* (London, 1841), I. 339.

[42] Adm., 7/334, f. 84. See also a letter of Rooke, Aug. 23 (Adm., 2/393), and an admiralty minute of the same date, Adm., 3/13.

[43] Adm., 2/24, f. 218; Adm. Minutes, Aug. 25 and 30, Adm., 3/284; B. M., Add. MSS., 5488, f. 190.

dacy for the Polish throne. Almost simultaneously dispatches announced the capture of Barcelona by the French. The only brightness in the scene for the allies came from William III.'s masterly stroke in saving Brussels. In Paris the ministers were jubilant, and that spirit reacted upon their plenipotentiaries at Ryswick, who had been counting heavily upon the fall of Barcelona, the candidacy of Conti, and the expedition of Pointis. Louis XIV. gained better terms than he had expected, and the treaty of Ryswick was signed a few weeks after the arrival of Pointis.[44]

When that intrepid leader reached Brest he found everything prepared for his arrival. Three of his ships had preceded him to France, one of them bearing Ducasse's agent, who had presented to the king the grievances of the buccaneers. Another ship had brought rumors of the great amount of private looting that had been carried on at Cartagena, of which no accounting would be rendered.[45] This occasioned Louis XIV. some concern, fearing that Pointis might stop at Lisbon to refresh, and thus allow his men to dispose of their ill-gotten gains. The same fear sent his ships to quarantine although they were by that time free of disease. Far from being received at court as the conquering hero, Pointis found that his administration of the expedition, particularly his control of the booty, was subjected to the closest scrutiny lest anything which belonged to the king be overlooked. It is true that a medal was struck in honor of his achievement, but Pointis was tempted to regret having undergone so many hardships to capture Cartagena, if we are to judge from a single embittered letter which he wrote several months after his return.[46]

His English opponents were even less fortunate. The frightful casualties of Pointis's squadron were exceeded by those of the English; six English captains died and only one of the four Dutch commanders survived.[47] After the skirmish in the West Indies, Meese attacked

[44] William III. to J. Vernon, July 6/16, S. P., 84/223; Lansdowne MSS., 1153E, ff. 51–56; B. M., Add. MSS., 28,899; f. 416. "They [the French] make sure of Barcelona, despair of Poland, and are in great fear for Pointis." Blathwayt to Williamson, July 12/22, S. P., 87/1. See also letters of Stepney, Aug. 7, Sept. 3, S. P., 105/57. After the arrival of Pointis and the fall of Barcelona, Louis absolutely refused to part with Strasbourg, which he had earlier been willing to relinquish. S. P., 103/95.

[45] Marine, B 4/18, ff. 329–332, 338; Paris advice, Adm., 1/4085, f. 882; B. M., Add. MSS., 9719, f. 108.

[46] *Relation de ce qui s'est fait*, p. 134; letter to Pontchartrain, Marine, B 2/126, f. 426; B 2/126, ff. 393, 406; B 4/18, f. 336.

[47] Letter to Pontchartrain, Oct. 18/28, Marine, B 7/221; L'Hermitage to States General, B. M., Add. MSS., 17,677RR, f. 480.

Petit Guavas, and plundered it as thoroughly as the drunkenness of his men would permit. A few days later he died. Neville carried his dwindling force as far as Virginia before he, too, succumbed, although the question of responsibility for the failure of his expedition remained to plague the admiralty and board of trade for months. The command of the rapidly thinning fleet devolved upon Captain Thomas Dilkes; his ships were scattered by storms on the way home and Dilkes himself had a bitter fight off the English coast before he could enter port. Norris narrowly escaped punishment for his supineness at St. John's; Harlowe was tried by a pretentious court-martial, but was acquitted on all counts.[48] Only the coming of peace prevented a parliamentary investigation into the miscarriages in the English navy.

So ended Louis XIV.'s greatest stroke on the sea. It brought many pieces of eight into his empty treasury, influenced his negotiations at Ryswick at a critical moment, and increased his interest in the West Indies, although it left no permanent mark on the map of the Western World.

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[48] Court Martials, Nov. 29, Adm., 1/5258; Harlowe's log, same date, Adm., 51/4743; log of the *Bredah*, Oct. 11, Adm., 51/130.

LEARNED SOCIETIES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I.

The learned society, or *société savante,* is one of the most characteristic institutions of the eighteenth century, for it well expresses the inner tendencies, the fundamental needs, and the instinctive beliefs of the period. To be sure, certain European academies go back to an earlier date, but they all knew how to meet the demands of a changing time. They succeeded in doing what the churches and political institutions often failed to accomplish; they adapted their rules and their activities to the habits and desires of the age of the philosophers. By studying them we shall be better able to understand the character and personality of that century, so near to us, and yet so enigmatic.

The following list,[1] which does not pretend to be complete, will give an idea of the great number of learned societies in France in the eighteenth century. The academies of Soissons, Nîmes, Angers, Villefranche en Beaujolais, and the Académie des Jeux Floraux of Toulouse were founded late in the seventeenth century (1674, 1682, 1685, 1679, 1694). Lyons witnessed the creation of learned societies in 1700 and 1724, Caen in 1705, Bordeaux in 1712. The Société Royale des Sciences of Montpellier dates from 1706, and the academy of Périgueux was first established in 1718—six organizations for the first twenty years of the century.

The academy of Pau was established in 1720, that of Béziers in 1723, that of Marseilles in 1726, that of Toulouse in 1729, Montauban in 1730, La Rochelle in 1732, Arras in 1738—seven organizations for the third and fourth decades of the century.

The society of Dijon was founded in 1740, that of Rouen in 1744, of Clermont-Ferrand in 1747, of Auxerre in 1749, of Amiens, Nancy, and Châlons-sur-Marne in 1750, of Millau in 1751, of Besançon in 1752 (the same year that the society of Pau was reorganized and revived after being long dormant), of Bourg in 1755, of Metz in 1757, the Brunin of Lille, in 1758—twelve between 1740 and 1760.

This movement continued until the eve of the Revolution, since the

[1] Gustave Lanson, *Manuel Bibliographique,* pp. 545–550. The list of French learned societies given is interesting although not complete.

Académie Delphinale of Grenoble dates from 1772, the Société Littéraire of Mulhouse from 1775, the Société Académique of Agen from 1776, the Société Littéraire of Lyons from 1778, and the Rosati of Arras from the same year. Nevertheless, the great period for the foundation of the learned societies in France seems to have been between 1730 and 1760, for after that date men were searching for new formulas and politics absorbed their minds.

In all Europe the activity of the learned societies increased in a striking manner during this period. The first volume of the *Acts* of the Academy of Sciences of Siena bears the date of 1761, the first volume of the *Memoirs* of the academy of Turin, that of 1759, while Bologna published the first *Commentaries* of its Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1731. The first volume of the collections of the historical and natural history society of Prague dates from 1775, the German translation of the works of the Swedish academy begins in 1752, the *New Commentaries* of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, in 1750. The first volume of the publications of the learned society of Copenhagen is dated 1745. At this same time, the Academy of Sciences of Berlin was in a period of reorganization from which it emerged brilliantly, thanks to Frederick the Great. The *History and Commentaries* of the academy of the Palatinate, of Mannheim, began in 1766. The Bavarian academy was founded in 1758–1759, at Munich, and began publishing works in 1763. The society of Erfurt was reorganized in 1776 and published its *Acts* beginning with 1777, while a little later, in 1783, the Society of Natural Sciences of Halle, established in 1779, published its first collection.

In far away America the example of Europe was followed without delay. As early as 1744 an attempt was made to found a learned society, but little was accomplished until about 1770.[2] Then, stirred by the enthusiasm which swept over all the English colonies in America, the society set about to collect and edit its *Transactions*. The first volume was published at the beginning of the Revolutionary troubles and was sent to the learned societies of Europe at the same time that the Declaration of Independence became known abroad. This volume indeed appeared to many as an intellectual declaration of independence of the New World.

This last case is quite typical and permits an analysis of the various

[2] On the origins and the early period of the American Philosophical Society, see *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society, III. 10–35, and *Early Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society, *passim*.

forces which entered into the creation and the development of these academies. In all of them there was, without doubt, the old leaven of curiosity which had spread with the Renaissance throughout the civilized world, and if one probes deeply enough, one finds in many of these societies a root which rises from the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, in their modern form, these organizations felt especially the influence of London and Paris. The Académie Française, whatever its reputation and prestige may have been, was not the one most often imitated. It was socially and intellectually on too lofty a level; it was too specialized and had a too clearly national character to allow of many imitations at a time when Continental Europe was still far from such national conceptions or from such intellectual specialization. The Royal Society of London, with its more practical character and its less precise form, seemed better suited to the spirit of the times. Although it is difficult in the majority of cases to determine the exact origin of the different learned societies of Europe, the wide circulation and the exceptional prestige which the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of London enjoyed on the Continent give reason to suppose that it exercised a great influence on the formation and the evolution of these groups. In any case, in their public activities they imitated it.

Nevertheless the English form, primarily scientific, was a little too rigid for the tastes and needs of the eighteenth century. The local learned societies which flourished after 1740 were not characterized by special interests but had a wider field of activity. At the time of the reorganization of 1770 which put the American Philosophical Society in the first rank of the company, all "useful" learning was welcomed. The spirit of the *Encyclopédie* was triumphant.

In truth, that triumph was already evident before 1750, and there again we must seek for English motive forces behind the French influence, as was the case so frequently in the eighteenth century. M. Lanson, in an excellent article in the *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire*,[3] has shown the great probability that the *Encyclopédie* was of Masonic origin, for as early as the first thirty-five years of the century such a scheme had been promoted by well-known French Masons, and by Ramsay in particular about 1738. Moreover, at least one of the two editors who directed the *Encyclopédie* was a Mason—perhaps the other was also. This supposition, confirmed by an abundance of proof, throws interesting light on the rôle of the *Encyclopédie*. That dictionary of all useful knowledge was composed and published for purposes which were pleasing to French Masons and which might be

[3] *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire*, 1912, pp. 293–317.

summed up in the motto: "Spread enlightenment, and render it effective."

Whether through the French *Encyclopédie,* or by more direct means, English Freemasonry exerted a strong influence on a large number of learned societies. The example of Benjamin Franklin is a convincing indication. In 1727 he was in London; he heard about Masonry and was taken with the idea.[4] Returning to Pennsylvania he immediately sought to put the idea into practice. He formed a club which was circumspect if not secret, and named it the Junto, or the Club of the Leather Aprons. It was at once a mutual aid society and at the same time an association of *bons buveurs,* a social club, and an academy. Intellectual and scientific questions, in so far as they helped to make life easier or to dispel error, were discussed there. No noteworthy event occurred, whether earthquake, storm, flood, or tidal wave, without their attempting to explain it from a human or scientific point of view. They were on the watch for practical discoveries in agriculture and trade.[5] This was the group upon which Franklin depended when he founded the first great public library of the New World, the Library Company of Philadelphia. The companionship and the conversation of this group inspired him with the first idea of his works and his discoveries, and led him finally to establish the American Philosophical Society. In its inception this society had Masonic leanings, and one could, I believe, show that it has never completely lost that characteristic. Be that as it may, all the activities of its great "star", Benjamin Franklin, were of Masonic inspiration. His two great discoveries—I speak from the point of view of the eighteenth century—the new system of heating, called the Franklin stove, and his discoveries in electricity, were the continuation of the work of the great Franco-English Mason, John Theophilus Desaguliers, who had also studied the problem of heating, and who had suggested an idea for a stove which Franklin took up and improved. Desaguliers also delivered in London a course of notable public lectures on physics, and particularly, on electricity.[6]

[4] Bernard Faÿ, *Franklin,* pp. 88–92, 119–123, etc.

[5] Jared Sparks, ed., *Works of Benjamin Franklin,* II. 9–12, 551–557.

[6] *Cf.* the article on Desaguliers in the *Dictionary of National Biography. Cf.* also the following of his works: *The Newtonian System of the World . . . an Allegorical Poem* (London, 1728); *Fires Improved, being a New Method of building Chimneys. . . .* Written in French by M. Gauger, made English and improved by J. T. Desaguliers (London, 1715); *Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy,* written in Latin by W. J.'s Gravesande . . . translated into English by J. T. Desaguliers (London, 1737); *Cursus Mathematicus. . . .* Written in French by M. Ozanam . . . now done into English . . . by J. T. Desaguliers (London, 1712), etc.

As this instance shows, orthodox Freemasonry and its leaders encouraged the learned societies to discoveries, at once bold and practical, while the irregular Masonic societies, so numerous in the eighteenth century, were concerned with the subject of alchemy. One may say, in fact, that herein lies the exact line of demarcation between the two Masonic formulas of the eighteenth century: one developed into a learned society, the other became a mystical organization. The *chef-d'œuvre* of Masonry in France was the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, a learned society.[7]

Almost all of the learned societies which flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century were imbued with the spirit of Masonry and often worked in close coöperation with the local lodges. There is no doubt, for example, that Frederick the Great, a Mason and a great patron of Masonry, introduced, one may say enforced, this point of view in his famous academy in Berlin.

We thus perceive that for the eighteenth century, the intellectual quality of the work of an academy was less important, taken as a whole, than were its social backing and its moral orientation.

II.

The prestige of certain learned societies and the relative obscurity of others does not seem to have been a phenomenon only of scientific attainment, but to have been linked with social and political considerations. Wherever we find an academy prospering, wherever there is one in full flower, there we discover generally that its growth has been due largely to an influential individual or group.

If we consider the three general types of academies of the eighteenth century—those founded or supported by a sovereign, those whose existence was linked with a local aristocracy, those formed as the result of the existence of a local university—we find that the last, as, for example, the learned society of Montpellier or the learned society of Bologna, far from being able to increase their prestige, had difficulty in maintaining their position. On the contrary, where a powerful prince was interested in a local academy, it prospered and was respected by the rest of the world. Frederick the Great did more for the academy of Berlin by his victories than it accomplished by its own labors, so little known in our day. By 1780, the glory of Frederick the Great was such that *his* academy rivaled the most celebrated; its prizes were contested by all the world. Rivarol did not disdain en-

[7] *Cf.* the excellent book by Louis Amable, *La Loge des Neuf Soeurs, passim.*

tering the lists, and the prize which the academy accorded him made his literary reputation, just as the title which it conferred upon him established him in the social world.

The same conditions prevailed in the learned societies sustained by an aristocracy or a well-to-do bourgeois group, as is shown by the case of the American Philosophical Society. That academy had as yet published but one volume and had given nothing memorable to the world, and yet at that time fashionable Europe was eager to learn of it, and Franklin, its founder, had been received in triumph at the court of France. Part of the reason was that Gates had taken Burgoyne prisoner at Saratoga, Washington had forced Cornwallis to surrender at Yorktown, and a great curiosity was felt about the unique political experiment attempted by the young republic.

The development of the academies of the eighteenth century is thus a political, social, and moral, as well as an intellectual, phenomenon. To grasp the importance of the various learned societies we must analyze these two aspects of their activity: their scientific work and their social rôle.

A learned society in the eighteenth century was primarily a group of men, intellectually curious and congenial, who met together to talk. Often they did nothing more. Many societies gave evidence of their existence only by electing members, by designating a meeting place, by choosing a patron, and by meeting together from time to time.

If they felt energetic, they would hold a public meeting, where the patron was eulogized, as were any deceased members, and sometimes the living ones, and where some one read pompous discourses on the arts and sciences. Such ceremonies were pleasing to the governments and to the social world; the gazettes mentioned them, it was a form of propaganda, we should say, but not especially serious; it was an homage given to the hobby of the century.

Much more serious and interesting were the ordinary private sessions, when the *savants* talked among themselves, when technical explanations were made, when they were occupied with correspondence with the *literati* of their own or foreign countries, where they prepared publications, or chose subjects for competitions, and judged manuscripts submitted. For the literate public it was the publications and the prizes which gave luster to learned societies. The *Gazettes* and the *Mercuries* printed the essays. Sovereigns, ministers, ambassadors, jealously watched over the insertion of these texts in the gazettes of the different countries, principally in France and England but also in the

great learned journals in Germany: *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipzig, *Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen, Hallische Gelehrte Zeitungen, Göttingische Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen, Der Teutsche Merkur,* etc. Most of these journals finally devoted a special section to the activities of the learned societies and published under the title: "Sociétés Savantes". We possess innumerable evidences of the prestige and the influence of these prizes of the academies, as much from the literary as from the scientific and philosophical point of view.

In the middle of the century, the academy of Bordeaux offered a prize on the identity of lightning and electricity—the very year that Franklin made his discoveries.

At the same time, the academy of Dijon announced a prize for essays on the utility of the arts and sciences. It was thus that Jean Jacques Rousseau was revealed to the world. Some years before the French Revolution, the academy of Lyons, for a prize offered by the Abbé Raynal, opened a discussion on the Utility of the Discovery of America. Condorcet did not disdain to enter the competition. Finally, the famous academy of Berlin in 1784 launched Rivarol because of its prize on the universality of the French language. Voltaire in vain scoffed at these competitions. Indeed more than one was ludicrous—but many others played an important rôle and were an incomparable stimulus, in an age which was enamored of discussion, generalities, and the niceties of language.

The publications of the societies doubtless did not ordinarily enjoy a similar renown, although they did occasionally, as, for example, the famous volume of the publications of the Royal Society of London, which contained the first studies on inoculation, and which was vehemently discussed throughout the world between 1722 and 1789.[8]

These prizes and these publications, considered from the intellectual standpoint, exhibit at first an astonishing confusion, characterized as they are by a bewildering lack of discrimination. Crowded together pell-mell are studies on the new "enfant hydroscope", which delighted and absorbed the eighteenth century, studies on bisexual grenadiers, on the odors of cesspools, on plaster of Paris, on a two-headed calf, on fœtal monstrosities, on local antiquities, on hen's eggs hatched by cats. In 1752, for example, the Royal Scientific Society of Göttingen printed these elegant titles in the table of contents of its *Commentaries:* "Ch.

[8] *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society. XXIX. 72 ff., and *ibid.*, pp. 383–399.

S. Heyne: De Moribus inter Scythas morbo effeminatas et de hermaphroditis Floridae; Gesneri: Socrates Sanctus Pederasta . . . Corollarium de antiqua honestate asinorum . . . ." The Académie des Sciences of Paris in 1782 offered to its readers an essay entitled, A Letter on Live Frogs found in Stonework, and the academy of Turin in 1783 had the pleasure of listening to a lecture by M. de Malacarne on the New Valvulae in the Ventricle of a Tailed Monkey.

Undoubtedly there was reaction against this tendency and an effort to introduce a stricter classification in the works and publications of the various societies; the academy of Mannheim divided its publications into Historical Section and Physics Section and published them in separate volumes, in 1766 and thereafter. The academy of Munich until 1771 combined the two parts on history and philosophy in a single volume. Beginning with 1779 it issued two distinct series of volumes. The *New Commentaries* of the academy of St. Petersburg are divided into four sections: Mathematics, Physico-Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy.

But these efforts to systematize were not very general nor very fruitful. The majority of the societies kept up a multiform activity and issued chaotic collections. This was the case until the close of the century, even for societies which apparently had an orderly program. One can judge of this from the record of a meeting of the Société Royale de Médecine of Paris, one of the organizations which was most active and admired during the years from 1780 to 1790. At its meeting of March 6, 1781, a plan was discussed for establishing correspondence with doctors in France and foreign countries, then the members listened to communications on the best way of taking meteorological observations, on an old tomb in the Island of Malta, on the odor of drugs, on mineral waters, on a disease of sheep in the Sologne, on stibial tartar, and on the "effects of electricity when applied to the forcing of vegetation".

One can see the effort to be practical at all costs which obsessed the members of these societies and which prevented them from becoming specialized. The most brilliant had an encyclopedic interest, the others, imitating the great Franklin without pretending to understand everything, attempted at least to turn everything to good account. And there again we find the trace of the spirit of Masonry, quite distinct from the pedagogical attitude and the academic tendency which lead to specialization.

The multiform, utilitarian activities of the learned societies of the

eighteenth century are not intelligible unless we relate them to the Masonic lodges which encouraged these societies and assumed through them the rôle of guides.

III.

In this effort to serve and do good, local interests were bound to intervene, and the learned societies thus became, by a curious paradox, the centers of a provincial spirit, then of nationalism, at the same time that they kept their international activities and ambitions. This point merits examination, for a close analysis of the problem throws a new light on the nationalistic instincts of the governing classes of the eighteenth century.

The learned societies had for a long time a strongly marked international character, which appeared at their origin. Most of those which traced their rise to the sixteenth or seventeenth century used Latin, the old international language, and French, the new international language. A goodly number of academies still retained this custom, that of Berlin in particular which printed its publications in French, that of Göttingen which remained faithful to the Latin, those of Mannheim and Munich, both bilingual (Latin and German). At Erfurt, they spoke Latin, at Bologna, Latin, at St. Petersburg, Latin, etc.

The Scandinavians, on the contrary, very early used their national languages (Swedish at Stockholm, Danish at Copenhagen). But England was still readier to break away from the use of Latin, and in that one may discern a sign of her evolution in the eighteenth century which saw the early and complete awakening of an English nationalism well in advance of that of all the other countries of Europe. The French learned societies of the eighteenth century generally were satisfied to employ French, although they still occasionally used Latin in their publications.

Thus linguistically the learned societies had difficulty in maintaining their international intellectual coöperation although a species of unity existed in the use of French and Latin. But this effort to keep up an international spirit of coöperation is more apparent if we consult the lists of members of the different academies of Europe. Certain names are found everywhere, such as that of Franklin, who in 1785 was affiliated with more than twenty societies. Each society had, indeed, both local members and outside members, honorary members, correspondents, etc., depending on the phraseology. Some groups showed signal liberalism, as the academy of Berlin which, in 1786, at the death of

Frederick the Great, counted among its members five Germans, five Swiss, four Prussian Huguenots of French extraction, three French, and one Italian; that of Turin which had, at the same time twenty foreign members (eleven Frenchmen, one Russian, a Swede, a Dane, an Englishman, an American, three Italians); and the academy of Philadelphia which after 1776 admitted a large number of learned foreigners, French especially.[9] Toward 1780, Franklin, Euler, D'Alembert, were among the great names which all learned societies wished to count as members, while others, forgotten to-day but illustrious then, played a like rôle and served as bonds between the learned societies. Their influence, although at a remote distance, was none the less effective, and the learned societies thus constituted an international general staff endowed with a very strong *esprit de corps*. In 1776, if Franklin had not been a member of the Royal Society of London, of the American Philosophical Society, and of the Académie des Sciences of Paris, his situation would have appeared very false and would have been embarrassing for himself and for others. But these titles gave him such a claim to attention that it little mattered whether he was recognized as the envoy from the United States. We have curious diplomatic dispatches of the time in which the neutral states, Denmark in particular, not wishing to compromise themselves, instructed their ministers not to call upon Franklin as a minister plenipotentiary of a sovereign power, but to visit him as a great and learned member of many academies. That honor conferred on him an international rank.[10]

This international affiliation of the learned societies was assured by polite interchanges, and by quiet or open assistance given to members of any society without regard to nationality, by the circulation of records of meetings, and by prizes open to all without restriction. It was an internationalism of a type both social and idealistic.

On the other hand, the national tendencies of the learned societies were practical, immediate, concrete. The American Philosophical Society, after having unconsciously prepared the way for the union of the colonies by establishing one of the first national institutions in English speaking America, consciously strengthened it by its patriotic zeal, by its attachment, loudly proclaimed, to the French alliance, by gifts of scientific instruments to Louis XVI., the admission of French ministers to meetings, the election of a large number of French members,[11]

[9] *Early Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society.

[10] *Cf.* letters from Baron Blome to his government, and the "orders" of the minister, Count Bernstorff, to Blome, 1777, Archives Royales de Danemark, at Copenhagen.

[11] J. G. Rosengarten, *The Early French Members of the American Philosophical Society*, and *Early Proceedings*, pp. 116, 118, 126, 128 ff.

and by their zeal in studying the agricultural, commercial, and maritime problems which touched the immediate interests of the nation.

At the same period, the academy of Berlin in its sessions supported Hertzberg, who outlined in detail the contention taken up later by Gobineau, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and the Ku Klux Klan, namely, the superiority of the white race—Nordics and Saxons—over the brown skinned races. He defended also sane monarchical principles. Here, then, are the two learned societies whose rôle, international prestige, and culture were of highest significance, caught in the act of propaganda, as we would say to-day.

This seemingly strange phenomenon is easy to explain by the reasoning of the eighteenth century. No opposition had as yet arisen between the two forces, national patriotism and the international spirit. Each sentiment seemed to be a legitimate form of public spirit. Neither seemed to contradict the other, but both seemed to contradict the vain speculations of theology and the abstractions of mathematics. Each formed a part of a Masonic synthesis, which believed ardently in the people and in the nation as well as in humanity.

About 1780 people began to suspect the advantage of forming learned societies which were strictly international. A poor young man without literary or scientific genius but endowed with a successful organizing ability and an ambition, which at another time would have made his fortune, founded the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, a general and international account of all that was going on in the learned societies all over the world. He likewise founded the Bureau de Correspondance des Savants et des Artistes, designed to be a meeting place for scholars from any country whenever they happened to be in Paris. He had also an exhibition hall. Franklin acted as his sponsor. His name was Pahin de Champlain de la Blancherie. His purpose was to organize an intellectual collaboration such as we have developed in our own day. He failed.[12]

After 1790 existence was precarious for the learned societies. Those in France, even the Académie Française, ceased to function or disappeared. Those of the rest of Europe died out or became inactive. The American Philosophical Society continued, but its prestige and activity were decreased, especially after 1797. This sudden decline of

[12] *Cf.* in the Bibliothèque Nationale the collection of the publication of Pahin de Champlain de la Blancherie, *Les Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, and in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, his correspondence with Franklin.

the learned societies at the very moment of the triumph of the "enlightenment" which they had striven for, may well surprise us. It can be traced to a variety of causes: the universal upheaval, which destroyed that opportunity for meditation indispensable to a well ordered intellectual life, the dispersion of the *savants,* the unpopularity of old distinctions and groupings in a world where all was new. Like that characteristic phenomenon, Freemasonry, the *sociétés savantes* had been the means of elaborating and propagating the new ideal. They were not to be the instruments of its realization. And the world was entering upon a period of realization. Later, and step by step, they renewed their activity, especially after 1815.

IV.

In closing this inquiry I wish to give here such conclusions, for the most part hypothetical, as I believe I am warranted in drawing. Beginning with an intellectual type like either the Académie Française or the learned German societies, the *sociétés savantes* during the eighteenth century evolved more and more toward a utilitarian character, especially under the influence of Freemasonry, with which they had numerous ties. This transformation occurred because of the *Encyclopédie* and the example of the various famous societies, in particular the American Philosophical Society. The personality of Benjamin Franklin, didactic and utilitarian, was a primordial factor in this movement which the absence of the societies of the older type facilitated in America.

The learned societies of the eighteenth century had thus, above all, a social rôle and have left relatively few interesting evidences of their scientific work. We may say that in this way they were inferior to the academies of the seventeenth century. Their lack of intellectual discernment and their naïve utilitarianism led them into all sorts of trivial adventures. Franklin himself made his great discoveries outside the learned societies and without their assistance. Almost all the other great scientific discoveries of the eighteenth century were made by individuals. It would seem that, on the other hand, the learned societies played a social, moral, and religious rôle of the first importance. Without them the ethical action of Rousseau, of Benjamin Franklin, and even of the aged Voltaire, could not have developed as it did.

Such was the power of the groups united around a great ideal, "Science", even though in reality they were busied with other concerns.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Authorship of a Discourse About Civil Government in a New Plantation Whose Design is Religion

In 1663 Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, printers of Cambridge in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, issued a pamphlet with the following title-page: A / DISCOURSE / ABOUT / CIVIL GOVERNMENT / IN A / NEW PLANTATION / Whose DESIGN is / RELIGION. / Written many Years since, / By that Reverend and Worthy Minister of the GOSPEL, / JOHN COTTON B. D. / And now Published by some UNDERTAKERS of / A New Plantation, for General Direction / and Information. / CAMBRIDGE: / Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. / MDCLXIII. Concerning this pamphlet Cotton's grandson, Cotton Mather, more than thirty years later, wrote: "There is likewise published, *A discourse about Civil Government, in a New Plantation, whose design is religion:* in the title page whereof, the name of Mr. *Cotton,* is, by a mistake, put for that of Mr. *Davenport.*"[1] Although Mather gives no reason for ascribing the pamphlet to John Davenport, his statement has been accepted by posterity, and the *Discourse about Civil Government* has been credited to Davenport and is catalogued as his work by the more important libraries of the country. Yet an examination of the circumstances surrounding the writing and the publication of this pamphlet tends to prove that the title-page is correct and that it should be listed among the writings of John Cotton.

On June 26, 1637, John Davenport and a company of colonists arrived in Massachusetts Bay.[2] While they looked for a location suitable for a plantation, John Davenport took up his residence with his friend, John Cotton.[3] In the preceding October, John Cotton had presented to the General Court of Massachusetts a code of laws which he had drawn up for the use of the colony.[4] This code was rejected by Massachusetts in favor of the Body of Liberties in 1641, but at the time of Davenport's presence in the Bay the code had been neither accepted nor rejected, and when the Davenport company decided to remove

[1] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Hartford, 1820), I. 300.

[2] J. K. Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal,* I. 223.

[3] C. F. Adams, *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636–1638,* p. 225.

[4] *Winthrop's Journal,* I. 196.

beyond the jurisdiction of the Bay, Cotton seems to have urged the group to accept his code in their new plantation. To meet objections to the fundamental principle of the code—the limitation to church members of the right to vote and to hold office—Cotton wrote this *Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation Whose Design is Religion,* and presented it in manuscript form to John Davenport.

In the spring of 1638 the Davenport company removed to Quinnipiac on Long Island Sound and soon expanded into the New Haven Colony. Davenport carried Cotton's *Discourse about Civil Government* with him, and when a government, at first temporary and in 1639 permanent, was established at Quinnipiac, Cotton's arguments in the *Discourse about Civil Government* were accepted, and Cotton's code, a copy of which Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts had sent to Quinnipiac,[5] was adopted by the infant plantation as the basis of its government.

A quarter of a century later the neighboring colony of Connecticut received a charter from Charles II. which included the territory of New Haven and the New Haven Colony passed out of existence. There were many in New Haven who objected to union with Connecticut, where far less emphasis was put upon church membership, and this group planned to remove beyond the limits of the Connecticut patent, at first to New Netherland,[6] and later to the territory which had been granted to the Duke of York,[7] and eventually settled at Newark in the province of New Jersey. Davenport did not remove, but was in sympathy with the undertaking and sent Cotton's *Discourse about Civil Government,* which had remained in his possession these many years, to Cambridge to be printed for the guidance of the emigrants in setting up a government akin to that which had been established at Quinnipiac long years before. The pamphlet was the work of his friend, John Cotton, dead since 1652, and in a carefully drawn title-page, explaining the writing of the pamphlet and the reason for its publication at this late date, he gave John Cotton credit for it.

Cotton's grandson, Cotton Mather, was born in the year that the pamphlet was published and could have had no first-hand knowledge of the events surrounding its writing and publication. He wrote his *Magnalia Christi Americana* thirty years after the New Haven Colony

[5] Newhavens Case Stated, *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven, 1653–1665* (C. J. Hoadly, ed.), p. 518.

[6] New Jersey Historical Society *Collections,* vol. VI., Supplement, pp. 158–166.

[7] *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* III. 82; *New Haven Col. Rec., 1653–1665,* p. 552.

had ceased to exist. His grandfather's connection with the government of that colony had long since been forgotten and Mather saw only that the *Discourse about Civil Government* emphasized principles that Davenport had enforced at New Haven and that emigrants from New Haven had carried to Newark, and he accordingly gave Davenport rather than his own grandfather credit for the writing of the pamphlet. Yet the publication of the pamphlet in 1663 could only have been at Davenport's instigation, and Mather's statement, without proof of any kind, ought not to offset Davenport's carefully drawn title-page, which states that the pamphlet is the work of John Cotton.

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LORD SHELBURNE AND A PROJECTED RECALL OF COLONIAL GOVERNORS IN 1767

No figure in eighteenth century history is more enigmatic than the Earl of Shelburne, and few are equally important in the history of British colonial policy after 1763. In 1763 when the new imperialism was launched, he was president of the board of trade. In 1782 it fell to him to wind up the bankrupt colonial policy of his contemporaries. In the ill-fated Chatham ministry of 1766 he was secretary of state for the southern department. It has generally been assumed that the repeal of the Stamp Act had ushered in a period of comparative quiet; but colonial discontent remained fairly widespread. On the other side British statesmen were weighing measures which reveal significant divisions of policy. The issues arose chiefly from the resolutions of Parliament that a compensation should be made to the sufferers in the Stamp Act riots, and from the provisions for the quartering of troops in the colonies. Other complications existed, particularly in Massachusetts, where Bernard was unable to do anything right, and for his part thought he did nothing wrong. Reports from America displeased ministers. Chatham wrote of a spirit of infatuation in New York, and prophesied disaster. Townshend contemplated his revenue scheme, and the ministry coercion. It was decided to disallow the New York Barrack Act and the Massachusetts Indemnity Act, and to suspend the legislative powers of the New York assembly.

Shelburne's ideas were different, and held perhaps the one ray of hope in the situation. He believed in upholding the dignity and authority of Parliament, but that Parliament was itself limited by "Equity and Justice".[1] He felt that only generosity could win back

[1]Shelburne to Gov. Moore, Aug. 9, 1766; July 18, 1767, *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VII. 847–848, 945.

the colonies, and tirelessly reiterated to governors the need of tact and conciliatory measures.[2] He held that the demand for compensation was foolish, and the provisions of the Mutiny Act unjust. In February of 1767, however, he himself wavered. "Government", he wrote to Chatham, "appears called upon for some measure of vigour . . . yet it were to be wished not to establish a precedent in whatever is done, which may hereafter be turned to purposes of oppression."[3] His secretary, Maurice Morgann, urged upon him the necessity of abrogating the charter of Massachusetts and bringing Otis to England to be tried for treason.[4] Perhaps because of these reactions he agreed both to the repeal of the Indemnity Act and to the suspension of the New York assembly. Indeed, owing to his isolated position in the ministry he could do no other. He was "obliged to swim with the stream".[5] Yet at this time Franklin, Jackson, and De Berdt all considered him the friend of the colonies. To Townshend's schemes he was bitterly opposed.

Though circumstances might compel him to assent to policies of which he did not really approve, at the same time he was working out a policy of western expansion pleasing to the colonies,[6] and inaugurating an inquiry directed toward a thorough reorganization of colonial finance and administration. By June he had returned to his first belief in the necessity of conciliatory measures and tactful governors. He had already recalled Governor Johnstone. Governor Bernard had long desired to exchange Massachusetts for some more peaceful province.[7] Franklin of New Jersey wrote: "As to the Boston Assembly, there seems to be no hopes of any temperate proceedings from that quarter, unless Governor Barnard was removed or Otis was to die."[8] Shelburne had decided that discretion was the better part of

[2] De Berdt to Cushing, Sept. 19, 1766, *Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts, from 1765–1775*, p. 102. Shelburne to Bernard, Sept. 13, 1766, Lord Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, I. 301.

[3] Shelburne to Chatham, Feb. 16, 1767, *Correspondence of William Pitt Earl of Chatham* (W. S. Taylor and J. H. Pringle, eds.), III. 206. *Cf.* memorandum of Morgann, Fitzmaurice, I. 316.

[4] Remarks on the Present State of America, Shelburne Papers, William L. Clements Library, 49:711.

[5] De Berdt to Richard Cary, Jan. 3, 1769, on Shelburne's tenure of office, Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Transactions*, XIII. 352 ff.

[6] C. W. Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics, passim.*

[7] Edward Channing and A. C. Coolidge, eds., *The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence*, p. 12.

[8] Gov. Franklin to Benjamin Franklin, June 10, 1767, *New Jersey Archives*, IX. 625.

wisdom, and that to recall obnoxious governors and to make a thorough investigation of the colonial situation were the first steps in restoring tranquillity.

These steps he now proposed to take. In May a letter was prepared informing Bernard that in view of the "Divisions and Animosities" still existing in Massachusetts, he was given twelve months' leave of absence in order to communicate what information he could to the ministers, *viva voce*. In June a letter to Hutchinson was drawn up, acquainting him that he had been given temporary command of the province, and entrusting to his "Prudence, Ability and Discretion" the task of allaying by every possible means "the Jealousies and Animosities which have lately disturbed the good Order and Quiet of the Province; and by such a due Attention to the Prerogatives of the Crown and the legal and constitutional Rights of the People, as your experience and Knowledge must enable you to pursue". In the same month was prepared a letter to Governor Moore. In view of the situation in New York he was to return to England immediately. A new governor was to be appointed, and until his arrival Colden was to take charge of the province.[9]

But these letters of recall were never sent. Unfortunately the divisions in the Chatham ministry prevented the adoption of Shelburne's more careful policy. The Townshend faction was in the ascendency. Shelburne was said to be the secret enemy of the ministers.[10] Soon there was talk of his removal.[11] Without Chatham he was powerless to check the course of coercion begun by the ministers, and Chatham was an "invisible power". In July he was forced to content himself with an apparent opportunity of closing the controversy with New York.[12] The remainder of Shelburne's tenure of office does not concern this note. It is sufficient to state that, though on occasion a flash of anger would be struck from his frayed and autocratic temper, to the last he remained the opponent of coercive measures. It is perhaps worth mention that in December, 1768, he had some "sparring" with

[9] "Draft to Governor Bernard. May 1767 (No. 5.) not to be sent by this mail. (never sent)". Shelburne Papers, 85:118. "Draft to Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson June 1767", *ibid.*, 85:130. "Draft to Sir Henry Moore (No. 8.) June 1767", *ibid.*, 85:128. These drafts are more or less official in character, and hence their publication seems unnecessary. They are in the William L. Clements Library.

[10] *Correspondence of William Pitt*, III. 260.

[11] W. J. Smith, ed., *Grenville Papers*, IV. 28. *Cf.* Hume to Smollett, July 18, 1767, in J. H. Burton's *Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, II. 406.

[12] Fitzmaurice, I. 322.

Lord Hillsborough over the conduct of Bernard, and that according to Denis de Berdt he later thought Bernard open to legal action.[13]

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON MEDIEVAL AND MODERN GREEK HISTORY, 1928–1931

THE present article deals with the principal books and articles on Greek history during the medieval, Turkish, and modern periods, published during the last three years.[1] During that period five new periodicals dealing with this subject have appeared at Athens: *Hellenikά*, of which the fourth volume is being published; the *Archives of Byzantine Law*, represented by two numbers; the *Archives of Pontos*, of which two volumes have been issued—*Medieval Letters* and *Thessalian Chronicles*, each, so far, represented by a single number, which in the latter case was entirely devoted to the part played by Thessaly during the War of Independence. Besides these accessions, the *Annual* of the Society of Byzantine Studies, the *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, the *Bulletin* of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, the *Epeirote Chronicles*, the *Cypriote Chronicles*, the *Proceedings* of the Academy of Athens, and *Thrakikά*, all continue their publication, so that in Greek lands alone there is no lack of attention to these periods. There is a tendency to specialize in the history of the various Greek provinces, and a number of papers by specialists were read at the third International Congress of Byzantine Studies at Athens in October, 1930, from which, however, American and British scholars were, unfortunately, almost entirely absent.

A second installment of the *Index of the Medieval Monuments of Greece*,[2] by A. Xyngopoulos, is devoted to the Byzantine churches and the Turkish buildings of Athens. To the Catalan period of Greek history the eminent Catalan scholar, Antonio Rubió y Lluch, of Barcelona, has contributed two more publications, one, On the Condition of the Greeks under Catalan Rule and on the Athenian Demetri Rendi, in a Greek translation by Georg. N. Mavrakes, the other in German, Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Griechischen Sklaven in Katalonien im XIV. Jahrhundert,[3] and General D. Carlos Banús y

[13] *Parliamentary History*, XVI. 477. De Berdt to Thomas Cushing, Jan. 4, 1770, Col. Soc. of Mass. *Transactions*, XIII. 392 ff.

[1] For those prior to that date, see the author's article in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. II., no. 3, pp. 229–247.

[2] Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Athens, 1929).

[3] Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας (1928), new series, I. (1) 79–128; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1929–1930), XXX. 462–467.

Comas has published a military treatise on the *Expedición de Catalanes y Aragoneses a Oriente a Principios del Siglo XIV*. (Madrid, 1929).

The fourth volume of the late Professor Sp. P. Lampros's posthumous work on the history of the Peloponnese under the Palaiologoi[4] throws some further light upon the latter years of Byzantine rule there. It contains, with an historical introduction by I. K. Bogiatzides, ninety-four documents relating to the Byzantine "Despots" of the Morea, Theodore I. and II., Constantine, Demetrios, and Thomas Palaiologos, and to the children of the last. Of these documents, forty-two are published for the first time and include six letters of Theodore I. to Amedeo of Savoy (1390–1402), one of the candidates to the Frankish principality of Achaia; a letter of Fregoso, doge of Genoa, to Constantine, then emperor, in 1452; an anonymous poem to Constantine, referring to the recent naval battle off the Echinades between Carlo I. Tocco, and John VIII. (of which we learned for the first time from a document in volume III.), and warning him not to marry Theodora Tocco; a monody by Nikephoros "Prince" Cheilas, a descendant of the Frankish princes of Achaia, on the death of Theodore II.'s wife, Cleopa Malatesta, which informs us that there was a "senate" in the Morea; an address by Plethon to Demetrios with fresh details of the second fratricidal war of 1451; and an encomium on Demetrios for his excellent administration of Lemnos. Thomas, then in exile at Rome, writes to Ludovico Gonzaga of Mantua and to Francesco Sforza of Milan, to whom he mentions "Jannone da Crema" as having assisted in the defense of the Morea against the Turks. The collection concludes with bulls of Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Modena and the Council of Nuremberg and a vote of the Council of Siena, all about the reception of Thomas's daughter Zoe on her way to marry Ivan III. of Russia. From the literary remains of Lampros has also been published, on the recommendation of the Byzantine Congress held at Athens in October, an *Album* containing portraits of Byzantine emperors, collected by him and exhibited at the Rome exhibition of 1911. His widow has issued, under the editorship of G. Charitakes, an index to the twenty-one volumes of the *Néos Hellenomnémon*.[5] Further illustrating late Byzantine rule in the Morea, Professor Kougeas has published a Golden Bull of Constantine

[4] Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, vol. IV. (Athens, 1930).

[5] Λεύκωμα Βυζαντινῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων (Athens, 1931). Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων. Εὑρετήριον τοῦ ὅλου Περιοδικοῦ (τομ. 1–21).

Palaiologos by which are ratified Gifts to the Sons of Gemistos, 1449.[6] Of another Greek imperial family, the Laskareis, 1400–1869, B. A. Mystakides has published a history, as of the Rallis.[7] Byzantine Athens is elucidated by the papers of Dem. Gr. Kampouroglous and G. Soteriou, respectively, on The Saracens in Athens, and Arabic Remains in Athens in Byzantine Times.[8] Anast. K. Orlandos has found the name of Thomas Preliubovich, who governed Joannina from 1367 to 1384, on a tower of the Byzantine castle there.[9] The Archbishop of Athens and All Greece, Chrysostom Papadopoulos, has published two monographs[10] dealing respectively with *The Church of Athens* and *The Church of Cyprus under Turkish Rule, 1571–1878.* The governor of that island, Sir Ronald Storrs, has compiled *A Chronology of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1930), which ranges from the Bronze Age to 1930. Professor A. M. Andreades has written on The Jews in the Byzantine Empire and dealt affirmatively with the question, Whether there were Jews in Crete when the Venetians occupied the Great Island; while N. I. Giannopoulos has made Contributions to the History of the Jewish Colonies in Eastern Continental Greece.[11] Kostas Kairophylas[12] has issued a monograph, *Historical Pages of Tenos under Frankish, Venetian, and Turkish Rule, 1207–1821,* and the present writer printed from the manuscript belonging to the Historical and Ethnological Society the portions of Lichtle's *Description de Naxie* relating to the Frankish and Turkish history of the former capital of the Duchy of the Archipelago.[13] Madame Aim. K. Sarou, on the basis of Genoese documents, has championed the Chiote defender of Constantinople, Giovanni-Guglielmo Longos.[14] Tryphon E. Evangelides has written on the history of the Church of Rhodes, from St. Paul to the present day.[15]

Two new additions to the history of the Ionian Islands are the second edition of the late A. M. Hidromenos's *Concise History of*

[6] Ἑλληνικά (1928), I. 371–400.

[7] Ἐπετηρὶς Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (1928), V. 131–168, 257–282.

[8] Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν (1929), IV. 266–273, 341–344.

[9] Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά (1930), V. 7–8.

[10] Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν (Athens, 1928). Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Κύπρου ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας (Athens, 1929).

[11] Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (1929), VI. 1–24, (1930), VII. 253–263; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν (1929), IV. 32–37.

[12] Ἱστορικαὶ Σελίδες Τήνου. Φραγκοκρατία-Βενετοκρατία Τουρκοκρατία. 1207–1821 (Athens, 1930).

[13] *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* (1928), VI. 432–450.

[14] Μεσαιωνικὰ Γράμματα (1930), I. (1) 48–78.

[15] Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (1929), VI. 145–179.

Corfù, with the author's additions; and the *Septinsular Notes,* of Dionysios P. Kalogeropoulos, son of the eminent librarian of the Greek parliament, consisting of unpublished letters from the Zantiote radical leader, Lombardos, to the Ionian historian, Chiotes, menaced with the loss of his post because of supposed Anglophile sentiments, and a biography of the Corfiote patriot, Markoras.[16] To the history of Trebizond, Alexander A. Vasiliev has contributed Zur Geschichte von Trapezunt unter Justinian dem Grossen;[17] D. Talbot Rice, a Notice on Some Religious Buildings in the City and Vilayet of Trebizond;[18] and A. A. Papadopoulos, an article on Pontos through the Ages. I. P. Meliopoulos has published Trapezuntine Archaeology, and B. A. Mystakides, Trapezuntiaka—Codices of the Seminary—Theodoros Gabras.[19] Professor I. B. Papadopoulos, of Salonika University, has published, with an introduction about the Trapezuntine Academy, sixteen letters of Gregorios Chioniades, the astronomer, including two to the Emperor Alexios II., three to Constantine Lykites, and one to the Œcumenical Patriarch.[20]

To the history of Greece under the Turks belong Dr. Joannes Gennadios's monographs on *Morosini in Athens and the Peloponnese, The Family of the Benizeloi and the Blessed Philothee, Kaisariane,* and *Lord Elgin and the preceding Archaeological Invaders of Greece and especially Athens.*[21] Dionysios A. Zakynthenos has printed fifty Unpublished Patriarchal Documents of the Times of the Turkish Domination, ranging from 1593 to 1769, A. Sigalas, thirty-one Letters of the Representatives of Syra in Constantinople during Turkish Rule, and K. Amantos, an essay on Education in Chios during Turkish Domination (1566–1822).[22] D. Gr. Kampouroglous has related in his *Athens during the Years 1775–1795,* the tyranny of Hajji Ali the Haseki

[16] Συνοπτικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Κερκύρας (Corfù, 1930). Ἑπτανησιακὰ Σημειωμάτα (Athens, 1930).

[17] *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1929–1930), XXX. 381–386.

[18] *Byzantion* (1929–1930), V. 47–81.

[19] Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου (1928), I. 7–46; Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (1930), VII. 70–94.

[20] Γρηγορίου Χιονιάδου τοῦ Ἀστρονόμου Ἐπιστολαί. Reprint from Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης (Salonika, 1929), pp. 150–205.

[21] Ὁ Μοροζίνης ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, 1685–1688 (Athens, 1929). Ὁ Οἶκος τῶν Μπενιζέλων καὶ ἡ Ὁσία Φιλοθέη, 1420–1920 (Athens, 1929). Ἡ Καισαριανή (Athens, 1930). Ὁ Λόρδος Ἔλγιν, καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἰδίως Ἀρχαιολγήσαντες Ἐπίδρομεῖς, 1440–1837 (Athens, 1930).

[22] Ἑλληνικά (1929), II. 127–166, 11–96; 385–434; (1930), III. 115–152, 381–414, 421–657.

("Bodyguard") over the violet-crowned city, basing his narrative on the mainly contemporary accounts of Joannes Benizelos and Panages Skouzes.[23]

In modern Greek history further documents for the study of the War of Independence have been provided by the publication of one more volume of the *Archives of Lazaros and Georgios Kountouriotes* and of three more of those of their native island of Hydra down to 1826.[24] The late Constantine Rados, the naval historian, published a monograph on *Hastings and his Work in Greece,* and K. Amantos, nine Unpublished Documents about Frank Abney Hastings.[25] Spyridon Pappas has written on Un Napoléonide Mort pour la Grèce, Paul-Marie Bonaparte, who died off Spetsai and whose remains are now in the Museum of the Historical and Ethnological Society.[26] *Philhellenism in Germany during the Greek Revolution* is the subject of a monograph by S. Th. Laskaris.[27] The protests of the inhabitants of the Dodekanese against their exclusion from the Greek state in 1830 are contained in fifteen documents from the archives of the Greek foreign office, published by P. M. Kontogiannes.[28] The Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Hahn,[29] the Swiss Philhellene, in the form of letters to his mother, throw light on the military operations of 1826.

Three more publications deal with the War of Independence: *The Question of Greek Independence,* by C. W. Crawley (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1930), which, as its subtitle states, is mainly *A Study of British Policy in the Near East, 1821–1833;* the *Correspondence of Commodore Hamilton during the Greek War of Independence,* with an introduction by Dr. Joannes Gennadius (Anglo-Hellenic League, London, 1930), consisting of ten unpublished letters exchanged in 1827 between Hamilton and Mavrokordatos, Trikoupes, the French Admiral de Rigny, and Sir F. Adam, high commissioner of the Ionian Islands; Hamilton informs the last named that "our greatest enemies are our own merchants and consuls". The

[23] Αἱ Ἀθῆναι κατὰ τὰ ἔτη, 1775–1795 (Athens, 1931).

[24] A. Lignos, Ἀρχεῖα Λαζάρου καὶ Γεωργίου Κουντουριώτου, 1821–1832, V. (Athens, 1927). Ἀρχεῖον τῆς Κοινότητος Ὕδρας, vols. VIII.–X. (The Piraeus, 1927–1928).

[25] Ὁ Ἄστιγξ καὶ τὸ Ἔργον του ἐν Ἑλλάδι (Athens, 1928). Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν (1928), III. 716–726.

[26] Ἑλληνικά (1928), I. 315–336.

[27] Ὁ Φιλελληνισμὸς ἐν Γερμανίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἐπανάστασιν (Athens, 1930).

[28] Ἑλληνικά (1928), I. 118-137.

[29] Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστ. καὶ Ἐθν. Ἑτ., n.s., I.(2) 25–51; I.(3) 27–46; I.(4) 42–60.

third publication is *The Revolution of Thessalomagnesia in 1821,* by Gianes K. Kordatos, the Marxist historian.[30] Professor K. Amantos has published sixty-three documents about the capture of Rhegas of Velestino by the Austrian police at Trieste in December, 1797, which also inform us of the prohibition of the first Greek newspaper in 1798. Rhegas is the subject of two other monographs, respectively by G. K. Kordatos and (in Serbian) by Dushan Pantelich, the latter dealing especially with his execution at Belgrade.[31] Mr. Spyridon M. Theotokes, keeper of the Corfiote archives, has issued two volumes of the *Correspondence of J. A. Capo d'Istria with I. G. Eynard, 1826–1831,*[32] containing valuable information about the Greek frontiers as fixed by the London protocol of 1830 and about the candidature of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Eynard especially condemned the exclusion of Crete. The Catalogue of the Greek Coins from Capo d'Istria to To-day, compiled by Io. D. Tasoules,[33] requires an addition to include the new coinage of 1930. The same year, 1828, which saw the issue of the first modern Greek coins, saw also the appointment of the first British minister (at the outset styled "Resident") to Greece. Of the sixteen (since then seventeen) British and (since 1868) twenty American ministers and of the British consuls in Athens and the Piraeus since 1838 the present writer compiled a list, besides an account of "Finlay's 50 Years in Greece", derived from the historian's papers, and a bibliographical article on Modern Greek History in the "Gennadeion" at Athens.[34] A *Diary of the Struggle for Independence, 1814–1830,* by Chrestos I. Blassopoulos, was one of the publications of the centenary.[35] Another was a history of Greek newspapers, *La Presse Néo-hellénique* (Paris, 1930), by Ap. Dascalakis. He treats of the Greek journals of Vienna, which appeared before the War of Independence, as well as their successors in Greece during and after it, of which specimens were shown at the Press exhibition in Athens. A similar monograph in English, *A Short History of the Greek Press* (Athens, 1928), was the work of Demetrius Kalopothakes, long director of the press depart-

[30] Ἡ Ἐπανάσταση τῆς Θεσσαλομαγνησίας στὸ 1821 (Athens, 1930).

[31] Ἀνέκδοτα Ἔγγραφα περὶ Ρήγα Βελεστινλῆ (Athens, 1930). Ὁ Ρήγας Φερραῖος καὶ ἡ Ἐποχή του (Athens, 1931). *Pogibija Rige iz Phere.* [The execution of Rhegas of Pherai] (Belgrade, 1931).

[32] Ἀλληλογραφία Ἰ. Ἀ. Καποδίστρια—Ἰ. Γ. Ἐϋνάρδου, 1826–1831, 2 vols. (Athens, 1929–1930).

[33] Δελτίον, n. s., I.(1) 41–51.

[34] *Ibid.,* I.(3) 47–52; I.(1) 31–40; *Journal of Modern History* (Dec., 1930), II.(4) 612–628.

[35] Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Ἀγῶνος (Athens, 1930).

ment of the ministry of foreign affairs. His successor, N. Moschopoulos, has published a later historical sketch in French.[36] According to the latest available statistics of the ministry of national economy in 1927 there were 262 newspapers and 180 periodicals in Greece. *The 100 Greek Years,* by D. Gatopoulos, contains matter from the archives of the Zaïmes family, of which the present president is the head.[37]

To later Greek history, S. Th. Laskaris has contributed a monograph on *Charilaos Trikoupes and the Union of the Ionian Islands.*[38] But the two most important works dealing with this period are the seventh volume of the late Professor P. Karolides's *Contemporary History of the Greeks and the Other Peoples of the East from 1821 to 1921,* and the first part of the third volume of the *Political History of Modern Greece, 1821–1928,* by Georgios K. Aspreas.[39] These two volumes describe the course of events from 1864 to 1900 and from 1899 to 1912, respectively; it is to be hoped that the death of Karolides, in whom Greece has lost an historian of great erudition, especially in Turkish and ecclesiastical matters, may not prevent the publication of the conclusion of his work. Its defect is the tendency to introduce private and contemporary political controversies of no general interest into what should be a purely historical narrative; but the author's personal participation in the negotiations between Trikoupes and the Œcumenical Patriarchate (under the shadow of which he was educated) and his membership in the Turkish parliament after the Turkish revolution (for he was born in Turkey) gave him some practical experience of how modern history is made. Aspreas is to be commended for his impartiality in describing the delicate questions which followed the action of the Military League in 1909 and led to the appearance of Venizelos on the stage of Greek and European politics and to the first Balkan War, where for the present this history ends. Especially valuable is the account of the Military League, because it is derived from the archives of its chief, Zorbas. The characters of the leading politicians of the period are cleverly drawn; thus, Deligiannes seemed to the historian "most infirm of purpose of all politicians who ever governed the country", and he describes Venizelos's position after

[36] *Bulletin* of the Comité International des Sciences Historiques, no. 9, June, 1930, pp. 639–652. *Messager d'Athènes,* May 30, 1930. For the Greek press of Vienna, see D. Roussos in Ἐλεύθερον Βῆμα, Nov. 25–30, 1928.

[37] Τὰ 100 Ἑλληνικὰ Χρόνια (Athens, 1931).

[38] Ὁ Χαρίλαος Τρικούπης καὶ ἡ Ἕνωσις τῆς Ἑπτανήσου (Athens, 1930).

[39] Σύγχρονος Ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν Λοιπῶν Λαῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἀπὸ 1821 μέχρι 1921, vol. VII. (Athens, 1929). Πολιτικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Νεωτέρας Ἑλλάδος, 1821–1928 (Athens, 1930), III. 1.

the second elections of 1910 as a "political dictatorship proceeding from the free will of the people"—a definition which also accurately defines his present position after the elections of 1928. Only four political leaders, so the author thinks, have shown no fear of taking responsibility—Trikoupes, Venizelos, Mavrokordatos, and Koumoundouros. The author's "heel of Achilles" is the Macedonian question, about which it would be superhuman to expect impartiality from members of any of the nationalities concerned therein. He mentions a suggested solution of the Cypriote question by creating Cyprus an autonomous principality under Prince Nicholas in 1900, as later Crete became autonomous under Prince George. A welcome addition to the personal reminiscences of Greek public men are the third and fourth volumes of the *Memoirs* of A. R. Rangabes,[40] who, besides playing a prominent part in politics and literature at home, was one of the Greek representatives sent to the Berlin Congress and minister at Washington. For both these episodes in his career these concluding volumes, edited by his son, contain interesting facts. An interesting contribution to economic history is the first volume of a *History of the Currant*, by Dem. L. Zographos, author of a history of Greek agriculture.[41] Two books deal with the troublous years of the late war. Sir Basil Thomson, under the title of *The Allied Secret Service* (London, 1931), has narrated, but without personal knowledge, their history from the royalist standpoint; Georgios Venteres, in *Greece of 1910–1920*, has reprinted from the leading Athenian daily, the *Eleútheron Vêma*, his articles, written from the Venizelist point of view.[42]

Of the history of the Greeks outside Greece, that of the Greek community in Egypt has been treated in detail by Athanase G. Politis in *L'Hellénisme et l'Égypte Moderne* (Paris, 1929–1930), of which the first volume treats of the *History of Egyptian Hellenism from 1798 to 1927*, and the second of the *Contribution of Hellenism to the Development of Modern Egypt*.

Athens, Greece. WILLIAM MILLER.

[40] Ἀπομνημονεύματα, vols. III.-IV. (Athens, 1930).
[41] Ἱστορία τῆς Σταφίδος, vol. I. (Athens, 1930).
[42] Ἡ Ἑλλὰς τοῦ 1910–1920, 2 vols. (Athens, 1931).

DOCUMENTS

The Closing of the Port of New Orleans

In volume IV. of his *History of the United States,* Professor Edward Channing printed a document from the Archivo General de Indias at Seville which showed that the closure of the Mississippi River at New Orleans was due to a royal order of July 14, 1802, and not to the personal desires of Juan Ventura Morales, the Spanish intendant of Louisiana.[1] The discovery of this royal order created more problems than it solved. Why did Charles IV. desire to prohibit American trade at New Orleans? Was Napoleon connected in any way with Morales's action? This document seemed to confirm the old suspicion that Bonaparte was the instigator of the attempt to close the port. The answers to these questions are found in a bundle of documents at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid under the title, Sobre el derecho de deposito en Nueva Orleans, que pretenden tener los Americanos para comerciar á su sombra sin pagar ningunos derechos.[2] The letters and notes therein were assembled for the king and his ministers in 1803 when the attitude of the United States became alarming.

The decision to close New Orleans was a response to the complaints of the intendants against the illegal conduct of the Americans. On April 26, 1802, Miguel Cayetano Soler, secretary of the treasury, forwarded to Cevallos a letter of July 13, 1801, from the intendant at New Orleans, who stated that the Americans were using the right of deposit as a means of smuggling and avoiding the customary duties, especially on silver and gold. Cevallos, in reply, asked that Soler make known his pleasure in regard to the right of deposit, the abuses arising from it, and the losses resulting therefrom to the treasury.[3] With that data he could make the necessary reclamations, in the knowledge that

[1] " 'Conviene que el Intendente de la Luisiana se oponga à la introduccion y deposito de mercancias de los Americanos en Nueva-Orleans, no escudandose para esta novedad con la orden del Rey, sino alegando que para inquirir la estension de sus facultades; y sus obligaciones en esta materia consultò el referido tratado de 1795, y hallò que il termino prefisado de tres años en el articulo 22 le ataba las manos para no poder permitir la introduccion y deposito de mercancias americanas sin orden espresa del Rey.' " Edward Channing, *History of the United States,* IV. 326–327.

[2] Arch. Hist. Nac., Estado, Correspondencia Diplomática con los Estados Unidos, 1802, legajo 5538, expediente 16, documento 1.

[3] *Loc. cit.,* Soler to Cevallos, Apr. 26; Cevallos to Soler, May 2, 1802. Also, Report to the King.

the privilege was granted for only three years and had not been renewed. In the meantime, Cevallos received a bitter indictment against the United States from Valentin de Foronda, Spanish consul general at Philadelphia.[4] That official complained of the lack of consideration shown Spanish sailors in American ports and suggested reprisals in the form of sterner measures at New Orleans.

Foronda's letter led Cevallos to take the initiative in restricting American commerce. In a letter of June 22 to Soler he asked for an immediate reply to his notes of May 2 and 22 in order that he might instruct the royal employees in Louisiana.[5] The secretary of the treasury informed Cevallos on July 2 that in view of the reports of the intendants Angulo and Morales he had approved the restrictions imposed by Morales.[6] Nine days later Cevallos announced to Soler the

[4] Valentin de Foronda to Pedro Cevallos, Apr. 16, 1802, Arch. Hist. Nac., Correspondencia del Consul Foronda, legajo 6175. The letter follows: "Your Excellency will pardon the liberty I take in making these insinuations, remembering how much grief it causes me to see that Spaniards here are not treated and respected as Americans are in our country. The three years have expired. His Christian Majesty has not extended the privilege. Nevertheless the Americans continue making use of it. Your Excellency will see if one should allow them to continue. And in the meantime if nothing else is done they should be obliged to go provided with passports from the Consul General in which this clause is expressed: *Notwithstanding the conclusion of the privilege, one concedes them the license for the present to go to New Orleans.* In this way the Americans would know that it was a special favor of Our Master the King and not an obligation."

[5] Cevallos to Soler, June 22, 1802, Arch. Hist. Nac., Estado, Corr. Dipl. con los Estados Unidos, legajo 5538, exped. 16, doc. 22. The following is the complete text of Cevallos's letter:

Aranj'z, 22 de Junio de 802.

Al S'or Secret'o del Desp'o de Hac'da.

Ex'mo S'or—tengo pasados a V. E. dos oficios en 2" y 22" de Mayo ultimo, acerca del deposito en N'a Orleans de las mercancias de los Estados Unidos, á q'e pretenden tener d'ho los Ciudadanos Americanos con menos cabo de los R's intereses, segun lo han representado Lopez Angulo y Morales.— Tanto para hazer las reclamaciones q'e fueren convenientes al R'l Servicio, como para contestar á los Empleados del Rey en d'hos Estados s're esta materia, convendría q'e me comunicarse V. E. con la brevedad posible el dictamen que en d'hos oficios le he pedido. Dios gu'e, etc.

La resolución q'e motivó este oficio se halla en el Estracto de una carta del Consul Foronda de 16 de Abril de 802.
[Note on the back of this letter.]

[6] Morales had issued a proclamation requiring the presentation by the American shippers of clearance papers obtained from the United States customs officials. He took the step only after he had learned from Joseph Vidal, former Spanish consul at Natchez, that the issuance of such papers was customary in the United States (Morales to Vidal, Aug. 29, and Vidal to Morales, Sept. 24, 1801, Arch. Hist. Nac., *loc. cit.*). He also prohibited direct trade with Natchez and the other posts ceded in 1795. These measures, of course, in no way violated Spain's treaty obligations to the American government.

intention of the king to close New Orleans to American shipping.[7] It was decided to discontinue the right of deposit altogether, instead of allocating an alternate place, according to the treaty of 1795, because Morales feared that a separate American establishment would become a dangerous foreign community.[8]

However pleased Bonaparte and Talleyrand may have been after they learned of the *fait accompli,* the initiative in closing New Orleans did not come from them. The French foreign office learned of the violation of the treaty through its minister at Washington.[9] The question first appears in dispatches from Paris in a letter to Bernadotte, newly appointed minister to the United States, dated January 14, 1803.[10] More convincing still is the fact that Cevallos referred to the violation of the treaty as a *gaucherie* of the intendant in discussing the question with General Beurnonville, the French ambassador at Madrid.[11] Above all, France was not informed of the decision in 1803 to continue the right of deposit at New Orleans. Godoy's assertion that Napoleon originated the quarrel between Salcedo, the governor of Louisiana, and Morales is preposterous.[12] Spanish administration had

[7] Report to the King (*vide* the complete text at the end of this article), Arch. Hist. Nac., *loc. cit.* An extract from the report follows: "In view of this information he (Cevallos) said to Soler on July 11 that Your Majesty had disapproved the tolerance of the Intendants of Louisiana in permitting the Americans the right of deposit after the conclusion of the time prescribed in the said treaty. And since no notice had been taken of this abuse in the Department of State until the Intendant Lopez Angulo reported to Your Majesty the damages to the royal interest and to the security of your colonies that might come from it, the silence of Your Majesty on this point, after having known of the reprehensible tolerance of the Intendants, would be interpreted by the Americans as a prolongation of the privilege expressed in the said article."

[8] Morales to Cevallos, May 31, 1802, Arch. Hist. Nac., *loc. cit.* "But withal, so long as they (the Americans) retain the free navigation of the Mississippi I consider it much less harmful (*i. e.,* at New Orleans) than the designation of another place on the banks of the river where they could effect the deposit offered in the second paragraph of Article 22 of the Treaty of 1795. In next to no time (*poquisimo tiempo*) they would form a considerable establishment and without avoiding the evil, or perhaps increasing it under the protection that distance would offer to those that commit the frauds, the value of the buildings in this capital would fall immediately and the population, lacking the means of subsistence that it finds under the present circumstances would diminish not a little."

[9] Pichon announced a rumor that the Spaniards were going to close the port in his letter of Oct. 30, 1802. He reported the fact on Nov. 24, 1802. Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., États-Unis, vol. 55.

[10] Talleyrand to Bernadotte, Jan. 14, 1803, *ibid.*

[11] Beurnonville to Talleyrand, June 13, 1803, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, vol. 664.

[12] *Mémoires du Prince de la Paix,* III. 282–283.

its weaknesses, but it had not sunk so low that a colonial official would revoke a treaty of the crown in obedience to a demand from a foreign court.

Morales's conduct was no less pleasing to Bonaparte because the withdrawal of the right of deposit was a Spanish affair alone. Talleyrand expressed the gratification of the First Consul in gracious dispatches to Beurnonville and Azara, the Spanish ambassador at Paris.[13] Such cordiality was rare enough in the diplomatic correspondence of the two allied nations.

The document which follows is the complete text of a report to the king on the closing of the port of New Orleans to the Americans. It was drawn up in the Ministerio de Estado and presented to the monarch on February 13, 1803.

Colgate University. E. Wilson Lyon.

[13] Talleyrand to Beurnonville, Feb. 19, 1803, Arch. Aff. Étr., Louisiane et les Florides, vol. 8. Talleyrand to Azara, Feb. 19, 1803 (inclosed with Azara's letter of Feb. 21, to Cevallos), Arch. Hist. Nac., Corr. Dipl. con Francia, 1803. Talleyrand wrote to Azara:

"I am informed by the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Republic in the United States that the measures which the Government of Louisiana has taken in order to execute the clauses of the last treaty concluded between Spain and the United States relative to the commerce of the latter nation have excited bitter complaints which the Federal Government thought it necessary to mention in its message to Congress. The First Consul, to whom I have given an account of it, orders me to make known to your Court how much he is pleased with the firmness it has shown in this circumstance. All the nations of Europe can only applaud the measures that His Majesty, the King of Spain, has taken and which were inspired without doubt by the feeling of the dignity of his crown. But as France at the same time, in the character of future sovereign of the colony retroceded by Spain, finds her interest in the execution of these measures, the First Consul has charged me particularly to make known his feeling to your government. I beg of you in consequence, *Monsieur l'Ambassadeur*, please to transmit to His Christian Majesty the expression of the opinion of the First Consul and to receive the assurance of my highest consideration."

In transmitting this letter to Madrid, Azara commented on it as follows:

"I replied in general terms that I would give account of it to His Majesty, as I am doing, and that the king, our Master, would appreciate this new proof of the affection of the First Consul and of his attachment to the person of His Majesty and to the interests of his subjects; but I was obliged to limit myself to these general sentences because I do not possess the least knowledge or news relative to these events and the causes that led to them."

A Report to the King on the Closing of New Orleans[14]

Señor:

El Encarg'do de Neg's de los Estados Unidos de America reclama en una Nota de 3" del cor'te contra el Edicto publicado por el Intend'te interino de la Luisiana, prohibiendo el deposito de los efectos y mercancias de los Americanos. Dice que esta providencia es una violacion del art'o 22 del Tratado de 1795" de que se accompañá copia. Expone los graves perjuicios que de esta providencia se siguen á sus conciudadanos, y pide a nombre al Presidente de los Estados Unidos que se anule la providencia del referido Intendente, en la intelig'a que los perjuicios inmensos que de no hazerse van a causarse, serán imputables a este Gobierno. Propone que los Duplicados de las ordenes que se expidieron al Intend'te revocando su Edicto ó señalando (segun el mencionado art'o 22") otro paraje del Misisipí en donde depositen sus efectos y mercadurías los Ciudadanos Americanos, se remiten por los Estados Unidos desde donde en tres semanas despues de su recibo pueden llegar por Expreso a N'a Orleans, y que se autorize al Ministro de V. M. en d'hos Estados para declarar que el Comercio de sus Ciudadanos se restablería sobre el pie en q'e se hallaba en virtud del Tratado de 1795.

En otra Nota de 4" del mismo habla en general de las vexaciones que experimentan los Americanos por parte de los Españoles Empleados en Indias, y fundado en las ordenes que ha recibido de su Gobierno a consig'a de las quejas de sus Cuidadanos, solicita que V. M. autorize a su Ministro en los Estados Unidos de America á revocar y corregir los maliciosos procedim'tos de los Empleados Españoles con los Ciudadanos Americanos, pues que de otra suerte, las pasiones, el interés o la ignorancia de quinze ó veinte individuos puede alterar la buena armonia de los dos payses: y que juzgar su Gobierno tan necesaria esta medida para evitar los perjudiciales dilaciones de unas negociaciones entre Potencias separadas por el Atlantico, que en su opinion, las Européas que tienen Colonias en aquel Continente, deben de ver obligadas sin que pase mucho t'po á recurrir á este medio.

El Art'o 22" del Tratado de 1795" que se cita dice así. "Esperando las dos Altas Partes Contratantes que la buena correspondencia y amistad que reyna actualm'te entre sí se estrechará mas y mas con el presente Tratado, y que contribuirá á aumentar su prosperidad y opulencia, concederán reciprocam'te en lo sucesivo al Comercio todas las ampliaciones ó favores que exîgiese la utilidad de los dos Payses.

"Y desde luego á conseqüencia de lo estipulado en el Art'o IV. permitirá S. M. Cat'a por espacio de tres años a los Ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos que depositen sus mercadurcías y efectos en el Puerto de N'a Orleans, y que las extrahigan sin pagar mas derechos que un precio justo por el alguiler de los almacenes, ofreciendo S. M. continuar el termino de esta gracia si se experimentarse durante aquel tiempo que no es perjudicial a los intereses de la España, o si no conviniese su continuación en aquel puerto, proporcionará en otra parte de las orillas del Rio Misisipí un igual establecim'to".

D'n Pedro Cevallos dixo a D'n Miguel Cayet'o Soler en 2½ de Mayo 1802, contestando al oficio que este le paso con remision de una carta del Intend'te de la Luisiana Lopez Angulo que trataba de este asunto de

[14] Arch. Hist. Nac., Estado, Corr. Dipl. con los Estados Unidos, 1802, legajo 5538. exped. 16, doc. 1, Sobre el derecho de deposito en Nueva Orleans.

deposito de los Americanos en N'a Orleans, que convenía le dixese su parecer tanto sobre el d'r'o que pretendian tener los Americanos a d'ho deposito (con la idea de comerciar a su sombra sin adeudar ningunos d'r'os,) como sobre los abusos que nacían de él y perjuicios que originaba a la R'l Hacienda, para poder con estos datos hazer las reclamaciones correspondientes, en la inteligencia de que el expresado d'r'o de deposito se limitó en d'ho Tratado a los tres años inmediatos a su celebración, y cuyo termino no constaba en este Ministerio que se hubiese prorrogado.

Con f'ha de 2″ de Julio siguiente informó Soler á Cevallos, de lo que en diferentes ocasiones habian expuesto el Intend'te Lopez Angulo y el Interino Morales, aquello que le pareció necesario para instruir el asunto, y fundado en ello dixo, que se dexaba conocer, que el mencionado Deposito sería s'pre perjudicial al Estado y á los R's intereses, por que muchas producciones de la Luisiana las hacen pasar por de los Estados Unidos con perjuicio de los R's d'r'os; y que para evitarlo, en lo posible si habia de continuar, convendría aprobar lo dispuesto por Morales, prohibiendo la introduccion de todo lo que no estubiese comprendido en los Certificados expedidos en la forma que dispuso, excluyendo la plata y oro acuñado; y no permitir el comercio directo con Natchez y los demas puestos cedidos por la demarcacion de limites como lo está con todo el Distrito de los Estados Unidos de America y demas Potencias Extrangeras.

En vista de este informe se dixo a Soler en 11″ de d'ho mes de Julio, que V. M. habia desaprobado la tolerancia de los Intendentes de la Luisiana, de permitir a los Americanos el deposito de sus mercancias en N'a Orleans despues de haberse concluido el termino prescrito en el referido Tratado; y que como en el Minist'o de Estado no se habia tenido noticia de este abuso hasta que el Intend'te Lopez Angulo representó a V. M. los daños que de el podían seguirse a los R's intereses y seguridad de sus Colonias, por cuya razón el silencio de V. M. en este punto despues de haber sabido la reprehensible tolerancia de los Intend'tes podría interpretarse por los Americanos a prorrogacion del privilegio que expresa el citado Articulo, a que se añadia deberse evitar la disputa que el arreglo de este asunto podía ocasionar con daño de la buena armonía que reynaba entre esta y aquella Potencia; conviene que el Intend'te de la Luisiana se opusiera a la introduccion y deposito de mercancias de los Americanos en N'a Orleans, no escudandose para esta novedad con la orden de V. M., sinó alegando que para inquirir la extension de sus facultades y sus obligaciones en esta materia consultó el referido Tratado de 1795, y halló que el termino prefixado de tres años en el Art'o 22″ le ataba las manos para no poder permitir la introduccion y deposito de mercancias americanas sin orden expresa de V. M.

Sin duda es á conseqüencia de esta soberana determinacion, communicada por el Ministerio de Hacienda, que el Intendente Interino ha publicado el Edicto contra el qual ha reclamado por orden de su Gobierno el Encargado de Negocios de los Estados Unidos de America, en las notas de 3″ y 4″ del cor'te Febrero, de que se ha hecho mencion.

V. M. en vista de todo se servirá resolver lo que fuere de su R'l agrado.

The following notation is made on this dispatch in different handwriting:

Reservadamente al S. Soler. Que dé orden al Intend'te de la Luisiana

para q'e tolere á los Americanos en el uso del establemin'to de Nueva Orleans p'o sin revocación publica del edicto, y sin manifestar q'e procede p'r ordenes del rey. Al M'stro Americano se puede informar de lo Anunciado [*sic*] al Int'de de Nueva Orleans, y q'e puede asegurar á su G'no q'e el rey, justo en sus determinaciones, fiel en la observancia de los tratados y deseoso de conservar la mejor inteligencia con los Estados Unidos, jamas permitiría q'e se defraude a estos en los derechos q'e les [competan?] por los tratados.

Digase a Yrujo q'e se contesta esto al represent'te de los Estados Unidos. F'ho en 13″ de Feb'o de 803, según minuta.

President Hayes's Notes of Four Cabinet Meetings

THE month of July, 1877, witnessed the outbreak of the most widespread and violent labor disturbances that the United States had ever experienced. A series of riots resulted in loss of life and property on an unprecedented scale. To restore order, Federal troops were required to supplement the inadequate local and state forces. Governors in West Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California addressed formal requests to President Hayes that army or navy detachments be sent to reëstablish order and to protect life and property. In Indiana and Missouri, railroads were in the hands of receivers appointed by Federal courts. The United States marshals were obliged to use national troops to keep the property in the custody of the courts from damage.[1]

The questions of authority involved in our federal form of government are frequently delicate and difficult. No aspect of the relationship of Federal and state governments is more delicate than that of the use of Federal troops to compel or restrain by force the actions of residents of a state. In the Pullman strike of 1894, for example, it provoked a famous controversy between President Cleveland and Governor Altgeld of Illinois, turning largely on the issue as to which could officially ascertain the facts and determine the need for Federal troops.[2] The problem which Cleveland faced in the Pullman strike of 1894 was anticipated in 1877 in the discussions of President Hayes's Cabinet. The answer was inconclusive, according to the documents here annexed.

The following documents are records of meetings of Hayes's Cabinet on July 24, 25, 26, and 31, 1877. They are in his handwriting, in pencil, scrawled with apparent haste on a pad of blank sheets. At

[1] J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VIII. 13 ff.; Appleton's *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1877, pp. 423 ff.

[2] Robert McElroy, *Grover Cleveland, the Man and Statesman*, II. 151 ff.

present they are in the manuscripts of the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum at Fremont, Ohio. The worst of the riots, at Pittsburgh, had occurred on July 21-22. The variety of the questions presented in this crisis to a much maligned Cabinet[3] is well manifested in Hayes's notes.

The University of Cincinnati. GEORGE FREDERICK HOWE.

I.

24 July 77 - 12[25]

Cabinet.

Present:

Ev[arts]—Sh[erman]—McC[rary]—Th[ompson]—Key—Dev[ens]—Sch[urz].

Dispatches from Cleveland, Buffalo, St. Louis, Philadelphia—strike still extending but violence diminishing.

U. S. troops everywhere respected—Troops wanted at N. Y. to guard 100,000,000 U. S. treasure in the city—also in Cinti and St. Louis—Naval affairs and military disturbed about rank.

Gen. [E. O. C.] Ord 22[d] arrested [Gen.] Escopedo and other Mex. recruiting on our side—about 12 in all.

Spanish minister is ready to settle claims—Secy Th[ompson] proposed to send Monitor to N. Y. to clear streets around Custom House. Sh[erman] thinks streets too crooked—Ev[arts] says the big guns will straighten them! Monitor *ordered*. An officer of militia wants blankets. Directed that on proper requisition they be furnished.

Mr. Gilbert appointed Asst. Treas. at Chicago fails to make his bond—a new appointment to be made.

Shall the reports be prepared in full for Congress at extra session or deferred to regular session in Dec.? Message for extra session to be limited to the reasons for extra session.

Dispatches of quiet, etc., etc.

Shall the troops of U. S. be used in St. Louis until Gov. calls? *No.* Gen. Pope asks the question.

Gen. Schofield dispatches formally—

Can an officer move his men ag[ain]st the mob before Gov. calls? says Th[ompson]. Ev[arts] replies "It will be given him in that hour what he shall do"! — Muskets sent to Treasurer in N. Y. — 200 troops are to be sent to Reading if Gen. Hancock thinks best —

Adjourned to 12 tomorrow —

Ev[arts] says I tell office seekers I can't see them until after cabinet meeting—and after Cabinet Meeting I have no time.

[3] See L. A. Coolidge, *An Old-Fashioned Senator, Orville H. Platt of Connecticut*, p. 494, for an estimate of Hayes's Cabinet typical among Stalwarts.

II.

25 July 77 — Cabinet Meeting

Present:

Gen. Schurz, Judge Key, Sherman, McCrary, Col. Thompson, Gen. Devens, Evarts.

A bitter feeling as to the riots. Col. T[hompson] reports 1000 naval force—marines and sailors at N. Y.—probably 1100 if boys included. Guard increased at Brooklyn around Pub[lic] property. I read dispatches from Gen. Tyler, Balto., Gen. Hawley, Ct., and Gov. Hartranft. T[yler] suggests a committee to compromise—H[awley] says Ct. has 2000 reliable troops. Gov. H[artranft] is for calling volunteers. Secy of War reads dis[patches] from Omaha, Chicago, Cinti, and Gen. Schofield and others. Citizens enrolled at Indianapolis and Committee of Conciliation. Marshall [*sic*] of Indiana wants off[icial] deputies etc. etc. Tho[mas] Scott advises U. S. to take hold of the affair, or "the greatest destruction of life" etc. R.Rs. refuse to carry mails alone. Judge Drummond orders Marshall to go to St. Louis—He reports no adequate force — Meeting in Terre Haute between strikers and R.R's—good temper—no result.

N. Y. Ass't Treasurer feels safe—regulars and armed clerks and marines —Pittsburg danger of a revival of riots.

Sherman reports "another little war breaking out in Sitka". A revenue cutter to Sitka at once. Thompson says "your Rev[enue] cutter out of coal and I supplied you from the navy". Sherman says 'Thank you". Col. T[hompson] reads letter from Tom Scott. He is much depressed and gives a gloomy view. Wants Gov't to assume responsibility and act vigorously. Gen. Hancock thinks Gov. H[artranft] is doing good work at Pittsburg. Another letter calls attention to the relations between State and U. S. authorities.

Phila. Corn Exch[ange]. John Welsh *et al* think U. S. should add to its forces — Balto. ditto. E[varts] suggests that the U. S. may put these riots in the position of levying war ag[ain]st the U. S. — I advise a proclamation to be issued soon — Proclamation to be.

The Proclamation is to be prepared. But as to its issue the decision is to be postponed. Subject passed.

Mexico complains of Escopedo and others.

Carter is recommended for Minister to Brazil.

III.

Cabinet 26 July, 77

Present:

All members also Gen. Schofield.

Dispatch from Gen. Harrison *et al*—Several R.Rs at Ind[ianapolis] in hands of Receiver of U. S. courts. Orders that Marshall Spooner use U. S. troops and open, or keep open, such R.R's—Gen. Hancock with 400 regulars—and Gov. Hartranft with 2500 mil[itia] to go to Pittsburg to keep open R.Rs for coal supplies and food. Regulars took Reading and coal traffic opened — Gen. Schofield gives full ac[coun]t of situation in Pa. — Indiana affairs left to the Marshall and regulars —

S. C. R.R's reported (some of them) stopped — Strikers, it is suggested, are all carpet baggers.

Illinois authorities ought to take care of that state with aid of troops under the Marshalls — Wisconsin Gov. asks for old Soldiers in Home! Evarts laughs. "Old home men here better be called out to keep open the drives in the Park".

It was suggested that Gen. Jeff C. Davis be sent to take charge at Indianapolis. Evarts says "Dem[ocrat]s will think it is Jeff Davis of the South".

California—Gov. Irwin asks aid. The Navy ordered to aid and co-operate with Governor. "Hoodlums will take care of the Chinese".

Nebraska wants Omaha let alone. Gen. S. says Hancock has found 3000 men this side of the Miss[issippi River]. Ev[arts] says "Well as the rioters kill none of them, that may be enough".

Shall the U. S. forces be used to suppress riots in Chicago, before we issue a proclamation? No, says Ev[arts]. Gen. Schofield to take command at W. . . . .

Adjourned to 12 noon Friday.

IV.

Cabinet 31 July 77

All present

All quiet exc[ept] at Cleveland and a few points a peaceful blockade is kept up.

Sherman calls attention to the book as to R. R. traffic and its magnitude —as showing the need of National action.

Thompson suggests contract between R.Rs — Evarts says it is a case for Govt not contract.

Secy McC[rary] says the power to regulate commerce covers it. Ev[arts] says the country is ready for an exertion of its power but it is a difficult subject, "and men are not to be Court Martialed for a difference of opinion." Wages (says McC[rary]) is a part of it—"The War (says Ev[arts]) . . ." — As to accepting Nashville invitation Ev[arts] says "another strike may come to our relief".

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS

A Guide to Historical Literature. Edited by GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER, HENRY ROBINSON SHIPMAN, SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY, AUGUSTUS HUNT SHEARER, WILLIAM HENRY ALLISON. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xxviii, 1222. $10.50.)

THIS book has five general editors, thirty editors of sections, and nearly three hundred and fifty contributors of reviews. There are sections for each letter of the alphabet, and the total number of pages is more than twelve hundred. Never had a critic greater need for omniscience.

It is inevitable that in reviewing a work of this kind the critic should tend to concentrate on the periods he knows best and to neglect perforce the others. Yet the main value to him lies in those parts of which he knows little, for it is there that his need of guidance is greatest. Thus, it is the unhappy fate of a bibliography to be criticized from the specialist's point of view, but to be used for general purposes. At the same time, the specialist is a specialist only in a limited area, outside which he will find the *Guide* most helpful. It is true that errors both of commission and of omission are neither few nor trivial, but as a whole the work maintains a high standard of accuracy.

It is possible that certain of the errors, like some of the criticisms, arise from an imperfect appreciation of the object which the editors of the *Guide* set before them. They define their purpose, in the general preface, as the compilation of "a carefully chosen list of available books in each of the several fields to the English reading audience, primarily to libraries, teachers, and graduate students". Perhaps it would have been invidious to have defined further, but it must be confessed that this conveys a minimum of information. Libraries vary even more than teachers, and a list that would meet the needs of the average public library or of most teachers at small colleges would be totally inadequate for a university. And graduate students need two kinds of lists—one for their general field, and a second for their special subject. Moreover, it is not clear what meaning is to be attached to "available books . . . to the English reading audience" (or "English-speaking reader", as the phrase is elsewhere), which certainly does not mean that the *Guide* is confined to books in English, although some contributors seem to have felt obliged to list an indifferent book in English rather than a better work in a foreign language. This feeling prevails so strongly in section X that, not only the works of foreign authors in their

own tongues are ignored (*e. g.*, Huizinga, *Mensch en Menigte in Amerika*), but even studies by Europeans that have found translators—as Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* or Siegfried, *America comes of Age.*

The editors' plan was to divide all history into twenty-six sections, and then to subdivide each section so that a given number of entries would be allotted for bibliographies, for political, constitutional, economic, and cultural history, and so forth. To each title is appended a brief review, usually of a few lines, which indicates the especial merits or marked weaknesses of the work in question, or furnishes other information. This is followed by reference to reviews that have appeared in the recognized historical periodicals, or, more rarely, in periodicals not exclusively devoted to history.

The allotment of space must have been an awkward problem. A comparison of the lengths of the sections yields some curious results. Europe is allotted thirty-four pages for the period 500–1450, forty-four pages for 1450–1870, and fifty-seven for 1871–1930—a striking illustration of the trend of modern scholarship in the United States. Great Britain and Ireland seems to have been most generously treated, with eighty-five pages; France comes next, with seventy-six; then the United States, with fifty-four; and Germany, Austria, and Switzerland (grouped together), with fifty-two. It must not be assumed, however, that these figures are a reliable index to the relative value of the sections, for the longer ones seem to owe their greater length more to the diffuseness of the notes than to the completeness of their entries. There was apparently some uncertainty in the minds of compilers as to the kind of introduction required, for the prefatory notes differ in length, aim, and value. They range from charming little essays on the present trend of scholarship in the particular field to the puff that is prefixed to section C, and from vague generalities on the difficulties confronting the student on various topics to clear statements of the principles by which the sectional editor has been guided. On the whole, the last kind is the most useful, and the introduction to section J might well serve as a model.

The question of citing reviews is difficult and seems not to have been answered very satisfactorily. To begin with, there are inconsistencies. Sometimes the writer is given, sometimes not. Sometimes care appears to have been taken to include the critical as well as the laudatory reviews, but some recent instances will occur to everyone of unfavorable notices that have been forgotten or suppressed here. Moreover, it is very doubtful whether there is much point in supplying references to the *American Historical Review,* the *English Historical Review,* or, for recent publications, the *Journal of Modern History.* Even a graduate student might reasonably be supposed to be acquainted with these periodicals and to be able to find in them such reviews as interest him. The space gained by

the omission of these references might have been filled by the inclusion of noteworthy articles in these periodicals and by the citation of such general notices of books as appear in foreign or in nontechnical journals—the defunct *Edinburgh Review,* the *Quarterly Review,* and so forth. Some section editors have done this, but not many. Of this type of review, two outstanding examples that find no place in the *Guide* are the appraisals of S. R. Gardiner's historical works, by C. H. Firth, and of French's *1914,* by J. W. Fortescue—both in the *Quarterly Review* (vols. CXCV. and CCXXXII., respectively). If the writer of the note on the latter book had read Fortescue's estimate, it is difficult to believe that he could have penned the appreciation of the book which appears on page 404.

Similarly, the treatment of the individual items of a series was a problem to whose solution insufficient care was devoted. Sometimes, as in the American section, the items are listed but not commented upon individually; sometimes special volumes in a series have been singled out for notice, as happens with the *Political History of England* (though why the last volume—with one exception the worst in the series—should have been selected as "outstanding" passes comprehension, unless it be that the reviewer had carefully refrained from reading more than the first few chapters); sometimes items are listed both under the series and under the sections to which they normally belong, or even twice in the same section. The result of all this is unfortunate. The drawback of the method pursued in the American section is that some works that have exercised a profound influence on the development of American historiography are left absolutely without comment. A striking example is provided by the American Nation series, where such important studies as A. C. McLaughlin's *Confederation and the Constitution,* F. J. Turner's *Rise of the New West,* and D. R. Dewey's *National Problems,* are passed by in silence.

Generally speaking, the appraisals are almost invariably fair, and the information given is often of great value. There is hardly enough critical rigor, and here the section on Contemporary Times might well serve as a model. Moreover, the comments might with advantage have been more specific; and care should have been taken to insure that the reader could easily discover the limits covered by a book (*e.g.,* it should have been stated that the *Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection* stops in 1700).

On the whole, the tendency seems to have been to concentrate on political and constitutional history; indeed, some editors boldly confess this. In many ways this is to be regretted, for it is flying in the face of the present trend of scholarship. Another tendency is to enumerate too many biographies and too few monographs. Biographies are very easy to turn up in a catalogue, whereas it is frequently hard to find a monograph on a subject of a nonbiographical nature. In particular, it is doubtful if much benefit

will be derived from the lists of biographies which are annexed to many sections, although these lists often contain far more important books than the sections to which they form mere appendixes. Throughout, cultural history has been under an eclipse. For some reason or other, ecclesiastical history seems to have suffered most, possibly owing to the uncertainty among compilers as to what would be included under the section History of Christianity and what should appear in sections devoted to the different countries. This has caused a regrettable confusion and the omission of many important works. It is odd to find E. L. Taunton's *History of the Jesuits in England,* and not to find H. Foley's *Records of the English Provinces of the Society of Jesus,* or C. Dodd's *Church History,* or A. O. Meyer's *England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth.* As if to compensate for the paucity of material on other denominations, there are nine works on the Quakers (but not J. Smith's bibliographies); but there is only one on early English Dissenters, and one on Congregationalism. For the United States, Rowe's *History of Religion* and the American Church History series are all that appear.

Another marked feature is the general neglect of sources in favor of modern works, especially biographies. There are notable exceptions, but, on the whole, this is rather a guide to current secondary works than to anything else.

The English section, which seems to be the longest, is by no means satisfactory. There are very useful paragraphs headed "Collections of sources and archive publications", even though they are not up to date (as a reference to the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.,* or to the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland,* shows) and although they fail to contain specific mention of the *Venetian Calendar* and the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.* Among the libraries enumerated on page 481, mention should have been made of the Newberry Library, Chicago, which has an extensive collection both of sources and later works for English history, especially of the seventeenth century.

In general, the comments on the books dealing with medieval English history are helpful, but J. H. Round should not have been restricted to two works, nor Maitland's brilliantly suggestive *Domesday Book* dismissed with the comment, "Tends to exaggerate the prevalence of feudalism previous to the Conquest". The reviews of books on the Tudor and Stuart periods vary. The estimate of Froude is excellent, but surely A. F. Pollard's *Henry VIII.* should be criticized, not for "his too favorable portraiture of the King", but for his robust Protestantism. The really serious error, however, is the omission here of perhaps the most important book on the Tudor period that has been published since Froude, namely, Conyers Read's *Walsingham,* which is relegated to the list of biographies at the end. It

seems strange that Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* and Creighton's *Queen Elizabeth* should each have seven or eight lines devoted to them, while Dr. Read's book receives only a line and a half of small print. It may be some consolation, however, to Dr. Read to know that he is banished in company with Joseph Gillow's *English Catholics,* Foxe's *Book of Martyrs,* Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare,* and Spedding's *Bacon.*

Why Clarendon "should not be rated as a contemporary chronicler but rather as an historian" is not clear. It would have been better to point out that care should be taken to differentiate between the contemporary passages written during his first exile and those written during his second exile. In view of the vast erudition and serious tone of Masson's *Life of Milton* the comment on it is perhaps the most surprising in the whole work: "As a popularly written supplement to more recent works, Masson is still interesting." The note on Burnet's *History* is unfortunate. In contradiction to what is said in the *Guide,* Miss Foxcroft, in the preface to the *Life of Gilbert Burnet,* remarks: "An impartial study of Burnet's career and writings but substantiates his own statement, 'My thoughts have run most, and dwelt longest, on the concerns of the Church and religion'." Moreover, it is asserted that "the work attempts to be fair to contemporaries as the variations in the printed work from the original draft sufficiently attest". The variations would seem to prove the direct opposite, however, for the final work is uniformly more hostile to Tory contemporaries than the original draft.

The literature dealing with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries required more judicious selection than is to be found here. There is a tendency to concentrate on a few individuals, and to list all their biographies (Canning is a sample [p. 511]), and to waste space by too long critical dissertations (eight lines on Rosebery's *Chatham*). It is strange to find G. W. E. Russell's *Collections and Recollections* listed in the main body of the section, whereas Horace Walpole's *Letters* (minus the third volume of the *Supplement*) and Greville's *Memoirs* are merely listed under Biography. Perhaps the least satisfactory feature of this section is the treatment of cultural history. Here, again, religion is unsatisfactorily dealt with, and education, thought, and philosophy are restricted to six works, by four authors, with no mention of Foster Watson, for many years the leading authority on the history of education in England. Literature does not include a life of William Shakespeare, nor E. K. Chambers's *Mediaeval Stage.* Music omits the *Oxford History of English Music.*

The Celtic fringe is slighted. It is true that, for Wales, there are not many works that merit citation, but space might have been found for J. E. Lloyd's *History,* and the seventeenth century studies of Thomas Richards. Scotland and Ireland are similarly neglected. For instance,

among the Irish items not included are: A. G. Richey's *Short History,* Froude's *English in Ireland,* Bagwell's *Ireland under the Stuarts* (vol. III.), R. H. Murray's *Revolutionary Ireland,* and the numerous documentary works of J. T. Gilbert.

It is clear that the editor of the section on the United States is fully conscious of its excessive brevity. He says: "In planning this *Guide* it was recognized at the outset that the existence of the special bibliographies for American history listed under (X1) would make it unnecessary and undesirable to give in this section treatment proportional to that accorded other fields in this volume." The drawback of this is that only Grace G. Griffin's *Writings* is relatively up to date, and her volumes contain no critical appraisals of the works they list—a remark which applies to nearly every one of the bibliographies cited. Apart from inadequate space, there is not much fault to be found with the American section. A tendency toward benevolent criticism is noticeable, as is a careful avoidance of all occasions of offense. There seems to be an unwillingness to differentiate unmistakably between the wheat and the chaff, so that it is difficult to pick out the books the well read man should know.

Among the criticisms or comments that are either wholly omitted or inadequately stated are the following: that J. W. Burgess (vols. IV.-VII. of the American History series) wrote with a strong bias, owing to his belief in sovereignty, one and indivisible, as residing in the national government; that Holcombe's *Political Parties* is noteworthy for its attempt to show that the political parties were reflections of the economic sections of the country; that J. Fred Rippy's *United States and Mexico* does not give "the first comprehensive and scholarly survey", inasmuch as it is very brief on the earlier period, though its treatment of the later period fully justifies its appearance in two separate sections; that dual reference should also have been accorded Justin H. Smith's admirable *Annexation of Texas;* that Schouler's *History* is marred by Whiggism; that Charles A. Beard's *Economic Interpretation* profoundly stirred the younger generation of historians, and on this account required ampler notice; that Von Holst (*Constitutional History*) was uncritical in his use of sources, such as *Niles' Register,* followed too closely the suspicious views of John Q. Adams in his *Memoirs,* and that he entirely failed to appreciate the importance of the economic and social background of the political history he recorded, and was blind to the significance of the Westward movement; that H. H. Bancroft was wont to accept a Spanish point of view but often scrutinized an American one unfavorably, and that his chief claim to remembrance is his zeal as a collector of material; and that Bidwell and Falconer's *Agriculture* does not receive its due meed of praise. Among the surprising oversights are Kappler's *Indian Affairs* and Donaldson's *Public Domain.*

It would be ungracious to close before mentioning the sections whose pages can be turned without a jarring note arising. For example, if it is permissible without offense to single out two sections for special praise, those on Mohammedanism and on what is commonly, if rather loosely, referred to as "causes of the war" seem admirable both in the selection of the important works and in comment upon them. It is difficult to imagine within a similar compass anything better. Their success raises the question whether other compilers would not have done better if they, too, had included more sources of permanent value and fewer secondary works of ephemeral interest, more foreign studies of lasting quality and fewer publications in English which can not be more than stop-gaps.

The Huntington Library. GODFREY DAVIES.

A Guide to the Study of Medieval History. By LOUIS JOHN PAETOW, late Professor of Medieval History in the University of California. Revised Edition. [Prepared under the Auspices of the Mediaeval Academy of America.] (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1931. Pp. xvii, 643. $6.00.)

IN 1917, Professor Paetow found that a lull in the activities of medieval historians was an opportune time for making a bibliography—but when could a bibliography be more opportune than in an active period like the present? The author continued to collect material down to the time of his death in 1928, and the editors chose the end of 1928 as the composition date. Paetow's work has, however, been supplemented by various specialists ("listed elsewhere"?) and, "in certain cases", later publications are included. Bibliographies should be not merely retrospective, but *au courant* and anticipatory as well, and the editors might well have gone further in this direction, even to the point of inserting an addendum in the last stage of proof—for example, announcing the new British Museum *General Catalogue* and correcting the title and description of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences.*

The *Guide* is calculated "to appeal to all classes of students and readers who have advanced beyond the text-book stage", in the general fields of Medieval history and medieval culture. "English history is not treated fully"; Medieval history is considered as specifically European, Africa and Asia being included only so far as they enter into "western" history (Byzantine Empire, Jews, Foes of Western Christendom); Greek paleography should have its own section in the bibliography. But no major topic is entirely neglected, the work is truly comprehensive. Welcome additions include place-names (though in disproportionate amount), vernacular languages, and more detail on the Mohammedans.

If the 1917 edition, based on the "present resources and future needs

of the University of California Library", was not sufficiently inclusive, the new edition more nearly justifies our expectation of a selective but fairly extensive scope. The reviewer misses papyri (Greek or Arabic) in the list of source material and could suggest various additional titles in Paleography and in Bibliographical Works (one random example is Barth's *Repertorium* of periodical articles on Swiss history). Few titles in the first edition have been omitted (Kerner's *Foundations of Slavic Bibliography* should have been retained).

The form and arrangement are as before. Part II., General History of the Middle Ages, has two periods and thirty-five sections, each section divided: (A) Outline; (B) Special Recommendations for Reading (especially for undergraduates); and (C) Bibliography, explained in the preface as "the most important special books and articles . . . particularly designed for mature readers and for investigators". Part I. lists General Books, to which many references are made in parts II.-III. Thus, material on a given topic is scattered among the different parts and sections; *e. g.*, Madan's *Books in Manuscript* is listed only in part III. and Sinks's *Reign of the Manuscript* only in part I. But the distinction between different classes of students, gained especially by the A, B, C divisions, is as welcome as it is rare in selective bibliographies. Further subdivisions to the same good purpose are: Source Books, Standard General Surveys, Impressionistic Surveys, Shorter Accounts, etc.

In classification, the different sections of part I. do not always correspond with parts II.-III. nor among themselves. Under Bibliographies of Various Subjects, Encyclopaedias [Special], and General Modern Historical Works, the subdivisions are not the same, nor do they stand in the same order. Thus the section Bibliographies of Various Subjects includes Jews but not Islam; Philosophy, Education, etc., but not Culture and Literature, and so forth; *The Art Index* is listed under Bibliographies of Periodical Literature, and no art periodicals are listed under Culture and Literature in the Historical Periodicals section. The *New Larned* is among Chronological and Tabular Aids; and the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* under Political Economy. But these may be matters of opinion, and one may always resort to the excellent index, which runs to nearly one hundred pages (about fifteen per cent. of the book).

The form, now simply enumerative and now narrative, and the style, now condensed and now itemized, are somewhat confusing at first glance; but the condensed sections of parts II. and III., thanks to their fairly minute classification, have the advantage in clearness over the itemized style of part I.

The condensed style has not been allowed to occasion omissions of place and date of imprint. The dates of first or earlier editions are also given, though not always—*e. g.*, Mudge (no. 63). This title is also a case

of failure to note supplements scheduled to appear at more or less regular intervals. There is an obvious economy in reducing authors' forenames to initials, but the student must expect to spend a little extra time in locating F. Smith in a library card catalogue. No. 93, *Biographie Universelle,* should have included the editor's name, by which it is often cited.

The description of the works listed indicates their extent in number of volumes but not in pagination. There are frequent notes indicating contents, scope, and value, although no such condensed work could be expected to satisfy us in this particular. Absence of comment is sometimes not merely uninforming but, by inference, misleading; for example, certain books are described on page 35 as introductory or for beginners, with the possible inference that others, like Sinks and Schramm, are not. There are also cases in which a general note is not an adequate substitute for a detailed list of contents, particularly in collections of varied content such as the *Grundrisse* and *Handbücher.* And why does no bibliography systematically attempt to distinguish the scope and contents of different periodicals—the relative allotment of space between original contributions, popular articles, notes of news and progress, reviews, abstracts, bibliographies, etc.?

The typographical style and accuracy are commendable. The reviewer chanced upon only one misleading error: *Crons* (220e) for *Crous.*

This book may be an indispensable guide for only the next decade, or the next generation or two, but should always rank as a classic of bibliography. And while we thus hold Professor Paetow in grateful memory, we should also extend our thanks to Mrs. Paetow, the friends and colleagues, the editors and contributors, and the Mediaeval Academy.

Brown University. HENRY B. VAN HOESEN.

Die Geschichtswissenschaft, Aufbau und Aufgaben. Von ERICH KEYSER. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1931. Pp. lv, 243. 10 M.)

THE author is moved by the changed conditions in the investigation of history and in the public attitude toward that pursuit to rise to its defense and at the same time to describe the new elements which should enter into research, publication, and teaching. Modern material life, and especially the World War, having undermined the former German reverence for the past, their historians are declared by this materialized public to be inadequate to their task and their product to be of little value to their new aspirations. The political upset has caused the German nation to consider only the present and to plan for the future.

His reply to this is the obvious one that the present is only the last step in a long development which can not be understood without reference to what has preceded. Moreover, historical science and historians are equal to the undertaking, only they must observe that they are writing for a new

generation, and must make use of all equipment that new sciences have placed at their disposal. His rearrangement of source material might cause mild discussion, but it is clear, and based on the proper assumption that one must see where materials or data belong in order to give them their rightful weight.

The chapter on period history insists that Germans should cease to use the term *Zeitgeschichte* for contemporary history as it is a confusing misnomer; that the word "prehistoric" be abandoned, since archæology is blending it with the historic; that periods be marked or designated by predominating culture forms; and, further, that a period begins at the point where a new culture development begins, not where it has reached its perfection. The study of population in regard to number, movements, peculiar character, groupings, and space occupied, is emphasized as a matter of highest importance not sufficiently appreciated by historians and too much confined in political measurements.

The conflict in Germany between the advocates of political history and the writers of *Kulturgeschichte* having subsided into a mutual expansion of both definitions, the author can with equanimity point out with much detail the data and outside sciences which contribute to a true history of civilization. Incidentally, folklore has so many interesting sides that it is losing its identity as a separate branch of knowledge because sociology, economics, psychology, legal history, and other inquiries all gather grain in this field. Expanding the ordinary conception of folklore, it is defined as the search for the "folk soul" in all classes of evidence, traditional, material, or written, with the additional sound judgment that the confining of folklore studies to primitive peoples or peasantry gives no test of the fundamental mentality or soul structure of the human race.

With strong emphasis on geography the author well says that it should not be considered as an auxiliary science, but a fundamental part of historical equipment. The subject of maps is treated as if they had been neglected. When one thinks of American discovery and the many cases where maps have been vital this seems a curious view, but it is evidently due to the inconspicuous place which maps have received in textbooks on research like those of Bernheim and others. A chapter on historical museums defines the place and value of such collections with suggestions for their arrangement and management, evidently derived from practical experience.

The opinions expressed in this book are amply fortified with references to prominent writers, all German and mostly recent, a wise combination for the anticipated audience. The restatement of the fundamental elements in historical study is progressive rather than revolutionary, and provides an extended preface to a future work on practical research.

Pasadena. J. M. VINCENT.

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Excavations at Olynthus. By David M. Robinson, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D., Vickers Professor of Archæology and Epigraphy and Lecturer on Greek Literature in the Johns Hopkins University; Acting Director and Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1909–1910. Part II., *Architecture and Sculpture: Houses and Other Buildings;* part III., *The Coins found at Olynthus in 1928;* part IV., *The Terra-Cottas of Olynthus found in 1928.* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archæology, nos. 9, 11, and 12.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1930, 1931. Pp. xxii, 155, 307 plates; pp. xiv, 129, 28 plates; pp. xii, 105, 62 plates. Part II., $20.00; parts III. and IV., $10.00 each.)

In the first of these volumes Professor Robinson presents an account of the architectural and sculptural remains found by him at Olynthus in 1928. The site is important because of the peculiar history of the town. After its total destruction by Philip of Macedon in 348 B. C., the site was apparently never reoccupied in classical times; thus the excavators were not troubled with the many problems which arise where Hellenistic and Roman remains are superimposed upon an original Greek layer. At Olynthus there is little possibility of a dispute about the classical date of the finds.

The picture which we obtain is therefore that of an important fourth century Greek town on the periphery of Hellas. In this respect Olynthus is particularly interesting, for the excavators have unearthed streets and houses in a wealthy residential district which for the first time give us information about the plan and construction of Greek dwellings in that era.

In other respects the history of Olynthus has simplified the problem of the excavator. From the end of the neolithic period (see *Excavations at Olynthus,* part I., by George Mylonas) to the early part of the first millennium B.C., the place was unoccupied. Between *c.*1000 B.C. and the revolt from Athens in 432 B.C., Olynthus was small, occupying only one of the two summits of the hill on which the city stood. In 432 began the political importance of the town. As the founder and head of the famous Chalcidic League, it increased in wealth and population until the area of occupation spread to the so-called North Hill. The remains found on this hill, therefore, belong to a brief period, and probably most of them may be assigned to the years of Olynthian greatness in the fourth century.

Only on the South Hill is it necessary to face the problems raised by the fact that the place was inhabited for a long period of time, and here the destruction of the city in 479, then Bottiaean, and its transfer to the Chalcidians give the excavator a convenient fixed point.

Few sculptural remains were found at Olynthus. The most important is a marble head about which Professor Robinson waxes eloquent, praising the local sculptor. He believes it to be a head of Artemis, made in the fifth century by an artist who "was not merely under Argive influence but was also following in the style of Calamis". It is disappointing that so little sculpture was found, for Olynthus and its neighbors showed by their coins that very high artistic standards prevailed in this region. The sculptor, Paeonius, from near-by Mende, had a Pan-Hellenic reputation.

The two concluding chapters, the first on loom weights by Lillian M. Wilson, the second on lamps by Professor Robinson, describe and classify the different types of these objects found at Olynthus. Lamps, like coins, possess, at least potentially, an archæological importance quite distinct from their intrinsic or artistic value. If classified chronologically, they assist the excavator to date other remains found with them. Since the destruction of the city in 348 puts a lower limit to the Olynthian series, it will be possible hereafter to date with greater precision lamps of the same types found elsewhere.

Part III. is a descriptive catalogue of the coins. Because of the large number of fourth century bronze coins from Olynthus and its immediate neighbors, including a number of new types, the volume is particularly valuable for the numismatic and political history of the Chalcidic peninsula. Unfortunately, the usefulness of the volume is greatly impaired by the inferior quality of the plates, due primarily to the fact that Professor Robinson, to use his own words (p. ix), was "rash enough to reproduce photographs of the coins themselves rather than casts". The result is a series of plates which can not be used by scholars for comparing the Olynthian finds with coins in other places, except in a most superficial manner; and in many instances there is no means of checking the descriptions and identifications made by the author.

Part IV. is a descriptive catalogue of terra cottas and molds for their manufacture. The excavations show that terra cottas were extensively used as ornaments in private houses, and if Professor Robinson has correctly interpreted the evidence, some generally accepted ideas about the development of art must be revised. For example, he argues that the nude female figure makes its appearance in art long before the middle of the fourth century.

The publication of these three volumes within three years after the excavations is a noteworthy achievement. Still, our amazement at the speed of production is somewhat tempered by the realization that speed is incompatible with patient analysis and meticulous investigation.

The University of Cincinnati. ALLEN B. WEST.

The Third Wall of Jerusalem: an Account of Excavations. By E. L. SUKENIK and L. A. MAYER, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. (Jerusalem: University Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. 72. $6.00.)

THE problem of the location of the "Third Wall" of Jerusalem has long been a perplexing one to scholars. Josephus in his *Wars of the Jews,* bk. IV. 5, 2, in describing the fortifications of Jerusalem on the north says that it was defended by three walls. He enumerates these beginning with the southernmost of them. The line of this which he calls the first wall is well known. It ran from the neighborhood of the modern Jaffa gate directly eastward to the temple area. His second wall started from a point on the first wall east of the modern Jaffa gate and made an irregular circuit through the region now lying below the remains of modern Jerusalem and the Castle of Antonia to the northwest corner of Jerusalem. Where the third wall ran and what area was enclosed by it has long been a problem. Some have maintained that it was approximately on a line with the present north wall of Jerusalem, while others, beginning with Edward Robinson in the middle of the last century, have believed that remains of this third wall could be identified at points considerably north of the present wall of the city in territory now occupied by the Russian Cathedral and other institutions. The excavation described in the volume before us was undertaken with a view of determining, if possible, which of these theories was correct. Three campaigns were devoted to the excavations which the problem involved—one in 1925, another in 1926, and a third in 1927. The initiative in the undertaking was due largely to Dr. E. L. Sukenik who was connected more continuously with the three campaigns than any other scholar.

The results of the work are presented in the volume before us. It was impossible to trace the remains of the wall continuously because of modern buildings and roadways which could not be disturbed, but remains of a wall consisting of dressed stone of the type of ancient Jewish masonry were found at various points from the grounds of the Swedish School on the west to those of the American School of Oriental Research on the east. At the last mentioned point, where there were a tower and a gate, the wall turned sharply to the south and was picked up at various points to the city wall near the modern Herod's gate. The excavators believed that they thus traced the real line of this third wall which Josephus tells us was begun by Herod Agrippa I. (41–44 A.D.) and hastily completed during the war of 66–70 A.D. Père Vincent, the eminent French archæologist, has expressed in the *Revue Biblique* the opinion that the wall so described is not the third wall of Josephus, which, he believed, followed more nearly the line of the modern northern wall of Jerusalem, but a wall

hastily thrown up by Bar Chocaba (132–135 A.D.). The authors of this volume point out that there is no literary evidence that Bar Chocaba built such a wall and that the Jerusalem of his time was far too small to require such defenses. In the judgment of the reviewer the considerations which they urge combined with the remains which they have found are convincing. The Dropsie College of Philadelphia, together with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, deserves the gratitude of archæologists for having made these excavations possible.

The volume is beautifully printed on excellent paper, and is illustrated with numerous photographs of the objects found and with ten extensive plates of architectural and topographical drawings. The whole is a creditable piece of archæological work.

The University of Pennsylvania. GEORGE A. BARTON.

Geschichte des Altertums. Von EDUARD MEYER. Band II., Zweite völlig Neubearbeitete Auflage, Zweite Abteilung, *Der Orient vom Zwölften bis zur Mitte des Achten Jahrhunderts.* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta. 1931. Pp. x, 460. 19 M.)

LONG recognized as the foremost historian of Mediterranean antiquity, Eduard Meyer died on August 31, 1930. His last years had been devoted to the revision of his masterpiece, *Geschichte des Altertums,* and a second edition of the first part of volume II. had appeared in 1928. At his death the manuscript for the revised second part was complete to the middle of the eighth pre-Christian century and has been prepared for the press by Dr. Hans Erich Stier.

Posthumous publication means a difficult problem for the editor and an equally difficult problem for the reviewer. We are anxious to learn the final judgment of the great master on the many disputed problems; we hesitate to criticize statements which have not received the final revision or been able to incorporate the latest discoveries.

Egyptian empire had passed and Egypt was in full decline; it was a happy thought to center its history around the theocracy of the Amon priesthood at Thebes. Over a hundred pages are devoted to the Phoenicians and to the religion of the Phoenicians and of their Syrian neighbors. This will undoubtedly be considered the best portion of the volume, for here Meyer was able to utilize his unique qualification of being equally at home with Oriental and with Greek sources. A brief sketch of the sources for Israelite history leads to chapters on the Israelites to the disruption of the Judaean kingdom, on the culture, literature, and religion of the older royal times, and on the dynasties of Omri and Jehu. Brief as the sketch necessarily is, it is full of suggestion. The final chapter deals with the Hittites, Aramaeans, and Assyrians in Syria and Mesopotamia to the Year

745 B.C. The title is significant; Meyer's chief interest is in the smaller states, not in Assyria, whose history is distinctly slighted. Doubtless a fuller picture of Assyrian culture was intended for later pages.

Closer reading of the book raises the question as to whether it was really ready for the press. Internal evidence suggests that what we have here was only a first draft. We are surprised to find that certain important problems are not even raised. In other sections, the bibliography seems to imply that it had not been checked for recent discoveries beyond a given date. This is particularly true and particularly unfortunate in the history of the alphabet, a subject which always fascinated Meyer and on which he was an outstanding authority. Several years before his death, it was obvious that the origin of our alphabet must be sought immediately in the inscriptions from the peninsula of Sinai, and through them ultimately in the Egyptian hieroglyphics. More recent studies have proved this conclusion beyond any doubt.

Torso though it is, the last work of the master was well worth printing. If it will not add greatly to his reputation, it does show that his colossal scholarship and his keenness of insight were with him to the end.

The University of Chicago. A. T. Olmstead.

Griechische Geschichte. Von Helmut Berve, Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Erste Hälfte, *Von den Anfängen bis Perikles.* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder and Company; St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company. 1931. Pp. vi, 308. $2.75.)

This book is written with enthusiasm for the subject. The author has uncommon facility of utterance, richness of diction, and fertility of invention. The task he set himself is difficult—"the inclusion of all Greek culture in the circle of consideration, not by treating art, philosophy, religion, morals, and ways of life in separate chapters, but by surveying the manifestations of civilization in their entirety with a view to bringing out *die seelische Grundhaltung* peculiar to men of particular epochs and dominating all their thought and action"—difficult and, however desirable, probably impossible of scientific realization in the case of the Greeks, in the first place because the record of their civilization is admittedly extraordinarily defective for most of the period included in this volume, in the second place because the determining of *die seelische Grundhaltung* of an age involves an extremely impressionistic selection of materials, and in the third place because Greece was never a single unit but always, like modern Europe only more so, a complex of states and cultures simultaneously existent and interacting but never fusing.

Taking up *seriatim* the bearing of these limitations on Berve's task we must confine ourselves to giving a single illustration in each case. What

he says of Minoan culture is primarily, if not exclusively, inference from Minoan art. As such it is admirable, but only as such. Stressing religious evidences and implications Sir Arthur Evans arrives at a very different conception of the ground tone of Minoan life. Berve warns the specialist that the work contains "many new combinations or evaluations which may astonish him". The reviewer has, in fact, strewn the margin of his copy liberally with interrogation points; but in many cases he is open minded and would like to investigate the matter further. What he fears and reprehends is the assurance with which highly subjective conclusions are presented. The layman and the novice can not know where agreed fact ends and conjecture begins. Much of the text covering the entire epoch preceding 600 B.C. is at best conjecture; and thereafter, even in the province of agreed facts, the author has not always been sufficiently careful. This particular specialist was astonished, not to say shocked, to find, for example, the statement (p. 298) that in the Periclean age Athenian citizens were compensated by the state for attending the meetings of the assembly. But it is in his grouping of the Greek states into cultural aggregates for the purpose of determining their *seelische Grundhaltung* that Berve blocks his way to reaching acceptable syntheses. The criterion he follows is essentially dialectal. Dialectal areas are tacitly identified with racial areas. The thesis runs through his entire book that there is a Dorian *Wesen* to correspond with a Doric dialect—a conclusion with which the facts of life in classic Sparta, Argos, Corinth, Tarentum, and Syracuse are harmonized only by violent underemphasis of their essential differences; that there is an Ionian *Wesen* to correspond with an Ionic dialect, a northwest Greek *Wesen* to correspond with a northwest Greek dialect, while Athens presents a continual conflict or fusion of Ionian and Dorian elements. The Ionians, for example, have certain innate (racial) qualities of which their whole subsequent history is an illustration. That seems to us fundamentally wrong. We simply do not know what the Ionians were at the beginning; we are reasonably sure that they changed their character from time to time; and that what they had in common in the historic period is attributable fundamentally to their experience. Berve's method, applied successively to period after period, would lend itself much more readily to a history of Athens than to a history of Greece.

The result is a schematization rhetorically effective perhaps, but scientifically highly objectionable. Incidentally, Sparta becomes the disinterested champion of the highest Greek conception of society. These reservations made, it remains to add that the book is the work of a gifted man and contains many admirable sections.

Harvard University. W. S. Ferguson.

The Reign of Tiberius. By FRANK BURR MARSH, Ph. D., F. R. Hist. S., Professor of Ancient History in the University of Texas. (London: Humphrey Milford; New York: Oxford University Press. 1931. Pp. vi, 335. $5.00.)

THIS book has been sorely needed and long awaited. Professor Marsh has given us a sympathetic yet critical history of Tiberius's reign, which never descends either to whitewashing of Tiberius or to vilification of Tacitus. There are eight chapters, seven appendixes, a brief select bibliography, genealogical tables, and an elaborate index.

In the scope of this review it is possible only to mention a few of the author's conclusions which will indicate the general nature and tendencies of the book.

The history of Tiberius must be written in the main from a study of the facts narrated by Tacitus in connection with the circumstances of those facts and excluding Tacitus's explanation of their motives. This conclusion is based on a comparison of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio. The biographer and the two historians used different sources; those of Tacitus were much the best, and he was more careful in their use than the other two. Dio and Suetonius can be accepted only with caution; the former represents a different historical tradition from Tacitus, and is therefore useful, but Tacitus is almost always superior.

For the campaigns of Germanicus Marsh prefers to be content with the unsatisfactory account of Tacitus rather than to accept the conjectures of modern scholarship which seem to him more plausible than convincing. He also rejects Kessler's theory of a biography of Germanicus by some member of his staff, positing rather an historian whose account was based on the reports of eyewitnesses.

In interpreting the *maiestas* cases it is preëminently necessary to separate the rhetoric of Tacitus from his narrative. An examination of the cases of Piso, Libo, and Cordus shows that minor charges were argued first; therefore, when the historian's account of a case ends with the defendant's suicide during trial, we are left ignorant of the more serious charges. Tacitus's silence refutes the generalizations of Dio and Suetonius. The author's argument, on the basis of the cases of Falanius, Rubrius, Marcellus, Libo, Appuleia, and Piso, that the development of the senate's jurisdiction "was far from complete" at the accession of Tiberius, is to this reviewer not entirely convincing.

A long account of the successive arrangements for the succession makes fascinating reading. This fatal question of the succession was the ruin of Tiberius's reputation. The tradition of Sejanus's seduction of Livilla, and that Drusus's death was by assassination is accepted. So also is the assertion by Tacitus that Agrippina and Nero were innocent of actual hostile intent,

that advised to that course by the agents of Sejanus, they rejected the advice. Marsh bases this judgment on Suetonius's quotation of the memoirs of Tiberius. Consistently he tentatively accepts Willenbücher's opinion that Sejanus instigated the pro-Agrippina riot of A.D. 29. This writer would incline rather to the opinion that the younger Agrippina foisted upon Sejanus the blame of her mother's ambitious scheming.

Marsh's convincing summation of Tiberius's imperial career may be indicated by brief quotation. "The policy of Tiberius was based upon far-sighted statesmanship and a clear perception of the crying needs of the Empire." "If we look at Tiberius as he appeared to all the world except the conscript fathers and the populace of Rome, it will be difficult if not impossible to deny his claim to a place among the best and greatest of the Emperors."

One of the appendixes affords convincing refutation of Fabia and Nipperdey on Tacitus's sources and should lay the ghost of Nissen in Tacitean studies. Another pictures Sejanus's conspiracy as directed not against Tiberius, but against the sons of Germanicus, again on the basis of the sole fragment of the memoirs of Tiberius, a strong argument. This view will hardly win immediate or general acceptance, but it must be reckoned with.

Professor Marsh has placed the student of Tiberius and of Tacitus very heavily in his debt.

Western Reserve University. ROBERT SAMUEL ROGERS.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Vie de S. François d'Assise. Par PAUL SABATIER. [Édition Définitive.] (Paris: Fischbacher. 1931. Pp. li, 577. 50 fr.)

IN 1884 Ernest Renan, renouncing his cherished plan of a work on the Franciscan renovation of religion, laid his hand on the shoulder of the young Paul Sabatier with the words, "vous serez l'historien du Père Séraphique". The commission was justified by the result. Sabatier's *Vie de S. François d'Assise,* published in November, 1893, needed nine editions within a year, forty-three by 1918, and has found translation into six other languages. The critical acumen of this work, the literary charm of its poetic prose, its devout enthusiasm, and its subtle power to waken "la nostalgie de l'au delà et de la sainteté" added impetus to the already growing interest in the story of the Franciscan beginnings. An international society for Franciscan studies was formed by Sabatier himself in Assisi in 1902 and thereafter in collaboration with others he issued special studies and documentary texts related to the subject which engrossed his life (Collection d'Études et de Documents sur l'Histoire Religieuse et Littéraire

du Moyen Age: Opuscules de Critique Historique). As professor of Church history in the Protestant Faculty of the University of Strasbourg since 1919 he lectured upon many detailed problems of the Franciscan story, but failing health prevented him from achieving his purpose of a completely revised life of the saint embracing all new results and conforming strictly to the basic tradition due to Friar Leo. In default of this we have now by the editorial care of Professor Goffin of Strasbourg a final edition of the original form of 1893 with the changes in detail made by Sabatier in later issues and some others based on the materials prepared for the projected *Nouvelle Vie*. Fortunately also M. Goffin offers these precious materials in a supplementary work, *Études Inédites sur S. François*. A comparison of this final edition with the original of 1893, widely read in the admirable translation by Mrs. Houghton, shows some unimportant omissions, new bibliographical references in the notes, and some additional paragraphs most noticeable in chapters XIII. and XVII. Naturally, also, the editor has amplified the original criticism of the sources in the appendix. These improvements leave unchanged Sabatier's moving delineation of the saint of Assisi. Indeed the chief difference of the new form lies in the pages of scriptural citations, Latin and French, prefixed to each chapter. These emphasize to us a distinctive trait of this biography, its effectiveness as a work of spiritual edification.

It must be added that for historical comprehension the marriage of the Penitents of Assisi with poverty must be seen in wider relations than Sabatier offers, and for that framework of relations we are chiefly indebted to Adolf Hausrath whose illuminating volumes on *Weltverbesserer im Mittelalter* show St. Francis in the large perspectives of an historical configuration beginning with Abelard's classroom in ethics and ending with Wyclif and the Lollards.

Lowell. FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

Cola di Rienzo: Darstellung seines Lebens und seines Geistes. Von PAUL PIUR. (Vienna: L. W. Seidel and Son. 1931. Pp. xii, 239. $2.40.)

THIS workmanlike volume is the mature coördination of the results obtained by two scholars—Konrad Burdach and Piur himself—who completed two years ago the publication of all the documents bearing on the history of Rienzi, under a commission from the Prussian Academy of Sciences. It is not the history of the times; it is a presentation of the man according to this evidence, and bespeaks interest for him as the prototype of the most conspicuous Italian patriot of modern times. He is presented as a national leader, relentless like a Fascist or a French Revolutionist. Witness the murder of Fra Moreale, a "fourteenth century Wallenstein" with an

"itinerant military republic" (pp. 199–202). He is divested of the charge of having played to the gallery. The story of his imperial parentage was current in the neighborhood of his putative father's tavern at Rome, where Henry of Luxemburg spent a night in 1313, and is responsible for the ambitions which took shape in the head of the young notary (pp. 2–4); it was not the invention of Rienzi himself to ballast a careening vessel. Piur sees nothing spectacular in Rienzi's presenting himself as prophet to Emperor Charles and as poet to Pope Clement (pp. 181–182), in spite of the vigorous protest of Petrarch at the admission of Rienzi to the ranks of the elect (pp. 179–180). The scene of the knighting of Rienzi's son after the slaughter of Colonna is not to be thought of as hysterical, but as grim revenge for the murder of his brother; it was Colonna moreover who was responsible, in his opinion, for the alienation of the pope. Political fanaticism alienated even Petrarch from his former patrons (p. 134). Rienzi is accorded lasting significance in the history of Italian unification for his two great memoranda to Charles IV. and the archbishop of Prague. He had a program which in its scope recalls the best writings on church reform of the fourteenth century (pp. 163–167). During his imprisonment by the emperor, the firmness, manliness, and fearlessness with which, undisturbed by the prospect of death at the hands of the Inquisition, he affirmed his political and religious convictions, testify to his greatness and assure the Tribune a place in the ranks of spiritual combatants (p. 162).

For all this, the decisive authority is not the anonymous *Vita;* and the statements of the Roman biographer are controlled by more than twenty chronicles, by papal acts, by Petrarch's letters and poems, by contemporary reports, private and official, and by Rienzi's own manifestoes, announcements, and letters, published first in the *Archivio Storico Romano* and then in the *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.* The narrative marches with a sureness and a vividness which raise the work above the popular biography it seems, by certain signs, to have been designed to be; and is so clear that the absence of an index, which seems at first a conspicuous lack (especially because the table of contents is not analytical) is not deplored. There seems to be almost an attempt to veil the scholarship which went into the making of this book, for the few notes are relegated to the end, the bibliography cites only those works which correct the viewpoint or amplify the picture, and the section which gives away the story (pp. 219–230, *Das Rienzo-Bild im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*) brings up the rear. The picture of Cola di Rienzo has never had to be modified in many respects, so authentic was the earliest account by the anonymous Roman writer. It is in matter of detail that it has been amplified; for example, there was a fourth banner carried in the famous accession scene; it represented St. George and was boxed on the end of a lance (p. 45). And the judgment of a generation far enough

removed from the events to view them in perspective has regarded with a different eye conduct which brought Rienzi criticism from his friends and neighbors, let alone his enemies. The book is singularly devoid of ineptitudes, unless it be the failure to note that the proper abbreviation for the expression "Cola di Rienzo" is not "Rienzo" but "Rienzi". The book deserves a translation into English, since Anglo-Saxon readers still know of Rienzi only what Edward Gibbon told, and Edward Bulwer-Lytton garnished with his fancy.

The University of Idaho. FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

La Fin du Moyen Age. Par HENRI PIRENNE, ÉDOUARD PERROY, AUGUSTIN RENAUDET, MARCEL HANDELSMAN, et LOUIS HALPHEN. In two parts. Part I., *La Désagrégation du Monde Médiéval, 1285–1453;* part II., *L'Annonce des Temps Nouveaux, 1453–1492.* [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire Générale, publiée sous la Direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac, tome VII.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1931. Pp. 569; 324. 60 fr., 35 fr.)

THE value of handbooks such as this has long been recognized, and the quality of this particular series has previously been noted (XXXII. 299, 573; XXXV. 389). The reader has here a treatment which is sufficiently detailed to show the steps in historical development and, at the same time, one which is short enough to keep the continuity of that development always present to his attention. There is a skillful combination of the topical and chronological presentation which is surprisingly successful in the avoidance of repetition. The period under consideration is so filled with events that the problem of presenting them without confusion is peculiarly difficult. By opening each chapter with a section of generalizations, and by concluding the whole work with an effective summary, the authors and editors have succeeded in keeping the general trends clearly in sight. Their difficulties were not lessened by their attempt to write world history instead of merely European history, but the consideration of Asiatic events has been reduced to a minimum, so that Japanese affairs receive very limited attention, while those of Siam are only mentioned.

Although five authors appear on the title-page more than three-fourths of the text is credited to two of them. The sections dealing with religious, intellectual, and artistic topics are from the pen of Professor Renaudet, while those on the political history of Western and Central Europe are by M. Perroy, with the editorial assistance of M. Halphen. The economic sections and the chapter on the Burgundian state by Professor Pirenne comprise about one-sixteenth of the text. Professor Handelsman contributes a somewhat larger portion on the Slavic peoples. Of these the parts dealing with intellectual history are the most enlightening. The subject lends itself

to lucid treatment more readily than does the narrative of wars and councils. With great clarity we are shown the links in the history of thought between the Middle Ages and the Reformation including the persistence of Joachimite ideas. We also see the Renaissance in relation to the past, without enthusiastic exaggeration, showing the intellectual movements contemporaneous with Humanism, recognizing the weaknesses of Petrarchism, and emphasizing Valla and Nicholas of Cusa who is esteemed the most vigorous intellect of the fifteenth century. In respect to the military narrative, despite allusion at the appropriate places to the new artillery at Crécy, to the janissaries, and to the solid army of Swiss pikemen at Nancy, it may be doubted if the reader will realize that a revolution in the art of war was taking place. Nor does the account of French military reforms under Charles VII. and Louis XI. supply the deficiency.

Each chapter and section is provided with very useful bibliographical notes. These, while indicating the standard works, take particular care to cite books and articles in all the European languages published since 1900. Where necessary, short phrases of warning or special commendation are inserted, and the usefulness is still further increased by a careful system of cross reference. In addition, in part II. will be found a supplemental bibliography containing the most recent titles relative to part I. There are more than fifty pages of index.

Williams College. RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent: a Study in the Counter-Reformation. By H. OUTRAM EVENNETT, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xvii, 536. $8.50.)

THIS book was begun as a fellowship dissertation on the part played by the Cardinal of Lorraine in certain years of the Council of Trent. The author did not know that years before M. Romier had suggested the need of a study of the part played by the Cardinal of Lorraine in the last assembly at Trent and that Pastor had pointed out that a good biography of the cardinal was much to be desired. The author was encouraged to continue his task but he did not undertake what both of them suggested—either a full biography or an exclusive study of the sessions of Trent.

He has produced, therefore, neither an article nor a monograph nor a biography. To the reviewer it seems a pity. I should have been glad to see him take a larger canvas and give us a portrait of one of the great men of his day which, unless I am mistaken, he could have done with great competence. Did he distrust his own ability? If he did he was wrong.

The writer states his own subject as follows: "This book has attempted to trace the struggle waged by the French and in particular by the Cardinal

of Lorraine, against the continuation of the Council of Trent by Pius IV. and on behalf of the convocation of a New General Council better adapted to restore the unity of Christendom by freedom from the commitments of Trent which formed an impossible stumbling-block to the Protestants."

His ability to do something broader and more interesting is shown on pages 73 and 74 where he gives a vivid and striking miniature of the cardinal.

But the reviewer does not wish to fall into the annoying habit of criticizing a writer for not doing what he had no intention of doing. This is a workmanlike bit of work. The author shows a commendable tendency to go back to published original sources. He prints in his appendixes a number of unpublished sources. When he sustains his points by citations from secondary sources he chooses excellent ones; for example, he cites M. Romier thirty-five times in a hundred pages. He does not hesitate to differ from his guide as when for instance he writes: "I think M. Romier overestimates Jesuit influence." He assumes in places more knowledge of the general background than most of his English readers will possess. He is a little too fond of the "purple patch", as when he calls the point of his book at once a "duty owed to truth and a bouquet offered to Clio", but only a little after all. In short, he has written a solid, useful, and readable book which suggests reason to expect more of value from his pen.

Princeton University. PAUL VAN DYKE.

Correspondentie van Robert Dudley, Graaf van Leycester, en Andere Documenten betreffende zijn Gouvernement-Generaal in de Nederlanden, 1585–1588. Uitgegeven met Subsidie van Teylers Tweede Genootschap, door Dr. H. BRUGMANS. In three volumes. [Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap, Derde Serie, nos. 56–58.] (Utrecht: Kemink and Son. 1931. Pp. xxv, 363; 472; 511. 7.50 fl. each.)

THIS collection of documents includes a large part of the correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, while he was governor-general in the Low Countries (1585–1588), together with numerous other pertinent documents. It does not include all of Leicester's correspondence, the intention of the editor being to print only those letters and papers which were not already in print. He has therefore omitted a number of important letters printed in the second edition of that curious hodgepodge collection of state papers known as *Cabala* (London, 1691). He has also omitted the letters in Bruce's edition of Leicester's correspondence (Camden Soc., vol. XXVII., 1844), those in *Correspondance Inédite de Robert Dudley . . . et de François et Jean Hotman,* edited by P. J. Blok (Haarlem, 1911) and those in *Brieven over het Leycestersche Tijdvak met de Papieren van Jean Hotman,*

edited by R. Broersma and G. Busken Huet (Bijdragen . . . van het Hist. Genootschap, vol. XXXIV., 1913). He has, however, printed *in extenso* much of the correspondence calendared in *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth,* vol. XXI., pts. 1 and 3. It is to be observed that he does not print all the pertinent documents in the English Public Record Office, nor all of those in the British Museum, and he has ignored altogether some important material in English private collections, notably among the Salisbury MSS. at Hatfield House. His collection is, therefore, so far as the English sources for Leicester's career in the Netherlands are concerned, simply a selection from the pertinent unpublished or calendared material in the Public Record Office and the British Museum.

The selection has been made rather with a view to illuminating Dutch than English history. Students who are curious about the administration of the English army under Leicester or about the financing of his expedition will find in it disappointingly little. They will find relatively little also about Elizabeth's various abortive efforts to come to terms with the Prince of Parma during the period of Leicester's service. On the other hand, they will not be plagued, as they always are plagued when working through the Foreign Calendars, by the omission of every document, however important, which does not happen to find lodgment in the English Record Office.

The most valuable part of this collection are the extracts from Dutch sources. These have been drawn from the royal archives at The Hague, in Friesland, in Gelderland, and in Zeeland, and from the town archives of eleven different Dutch towns. It is pretty safe to assume that not much pertinent manuscript material in Holland has eluded Dr. Brugmans's searches. If we add to what he has printed the documents printed long ago by Bor and Meteren, those edited by Blok and Broersma from the Hotman papers, and the valuable material collected in Japiske's monumental work on the States General, we probably now have in print all the important Dutch source material relative to Leicester's government in the Low Countries.

What we still lack, on both sides the Channel, are the fiscal records; and when we consider how important the question of ways and means was both to Elizabeth and to her Dutch allies, it is a serious omission. How much there is in the way of fiscal records in the Dutch archives has not yet been disclosed, but there is an abundance of material in England which, with the exception of a single short article by Professor J. E. Neale (*E. H. R.,* XLV. 373 ff.) has been pretty generally neglected. Until this gap is filled it is not going to be possible to write the complete history of Leicester's enterprise. But it is possible now, as never before, to follow in detail his disputes and his difficulties with his Dutch supporters. From

the point of view of Dutch history this was the most important element in the whole affair. For Leicester's significance in the development of the Dutch republic proceeded not from his services against the common enemy but from the dissensions which he encouraged and did much to develop among the Dutch themselves.

It is impossible to judge fairly of Dr. Brugmans's editorial work in detail without collating his printed texts with the original documents. In some cases he has obviously misread his English texts, but most of these mistakes are too transparent to be misleading. He does not always indicate, in the case of English documents, passages which were in cipher in the original, and in a few instances he has misinterpreted cipher passages. He has done a valuable service in pointing out (I. xx ff.) that the dating of letters from English agents in the Low Countries was not invariably according to the Old Style. In this respect he supplies a needed corrective to the editors of the Foreign Calendars, who have too generally assumed that all Englishmen in the Low Countries at all times followed the calendar of their homeland.

Philadelphia. CONYERS READ.

Quaestionum Juris Publici. By CORNELIUS VAN BYNKERSHOEK. Translated by TENNEY FRANK with Photographic Reproduction of the Edition of 1737. Two volumes.

Elementorum Jurisprudentiae Universalis. By SAMUEL PUFENDORF. With an Introduction by HANS WEHBERG, Professor in the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales, Geneva. Translated by WILLIAM ABBOTT OLDFATHER, with Photographic Reproduction of the Edition of 1672. Two volumes. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, The Classics of International Law, nos. 14, 15.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1930, 1931. Pp. xxiv, 417; xlvi, 304; xxvi, 377; xxxiii, 304. $10.00, $7.50.)

IT is interesting to recall the circumstances under which these two classics were produced. In the case of Bynkershoek a violent controversy on religion between his professors led him to forsake the study of theology and take up law. In due course he established himself at The Hague and soon built up a lucrative practice. He was later appointed judge and rose to the highest judicial office in the gift of the republic, where his erudition, probity, courage, and common sense won him undying fame. In Pufendorf's case it was an imprisonment while secretary of the Swedish embassy that gave him the leisure to think out the postulates and deductions of his great work.

Although the *Quaestionum Juris Publici* is the most important of

Bynkershoek's works he has not attempted to make it a complete treatise on the subject. His active practical mind was interested in throwing light on the more important and difficult questions of the law of nations and he abhorred the platitudinous repetition so often found in a systematic or comprehensive treatise. In this respect he was like his great successor in the science, John Westlake, who wrote those incomparable *Chapters on the Principles of International Law* which have become a classic.

Bynkershoek's learned countryman, Professor J. de Louter, has given an account of his life and summarized the content of this work, but he argues that although a great jurist Bynkershoek was no philosopher. Professor de Louter believes that the test of reason upon which Bynkershoek relies "is nothing else than his own clear intellect", and that in this way he "effaces the distinction between law and justice and proclaims international law, what, according to his own views, it ought to be". Perhaps in ultimate analysis the most positive of the positivists would apply the same test. The ultimate authority of a writer will depend upon the consensus of opinion of jurists that he is learned, fair minded, and above all that he is possessed of that rare quality, common sense, as shown by his willingness to defer to the authority of precedent whenever he is in doubt as to the validity of his conclusions. Bynkershoek's own statement of the way in which he would solve such difficulties and the measure of the man whose work we are considering are well indicated in the following excerpt discussing the nature and source of the law of nations:

> I have more respect for the opinion of those who have associated with men and had experience in affairs of state, and have grown wise from practical administration; such men usually draw up treaties according to the customs of nations. Nor would I slavishly bow before their authority without reason, but when they accord with reason I would yield to them rather than to poets and orators. Ancient precedents and treaties, to be found in Greek and Roman histories, have indeed some value, but as the habits and customs of nations change, so does the law of nations. To be sure, reason remains immutable, but when reason argues in behalf of both sides so that it is doubtful where the preponderating weight lies, we must appeal to custom for a decision. There were formerly many practices which now no longer exist, as for instance in the ratification of treaties that had been made by delegated envoys of the government. That is the reason why I have preferred to use precedents and treaties of recent date rather than old ones. Furthermore, since I desired to have my work of immediate practical value, I have drawn more fully upon modern than upon former instances. However, I have not discussed all the treaties of all nations, for that would require too great care, but from the instances which I have adduced it will not be difficult to understand what is the consensus of opinion among nations on the problems that I have discussed. Such were my principles in undertaking the work; the public may judge of their correctness (p. 7).

The authority of Bynkershoek continues to increase. The difficulty has,

however, been that all those who have occasion to refer to this writer do not read the Latin of the original with the ease of the vernacular. An adequate English translation of this work will be of assistance to many who wish to rely upon the wisdom of the sagacious and learned Dutch jurist.

Pufendorf's method of preparation was ideally adapted to allow the freest rein to the aprioristic system upon which it is based. To followers of the positive school Pufendorf's system will not make a very strong appeal. Yet Bynkershoek considered Pufendorf and Grotius the two authorities most to be relied upon and revered.

Dr. Hans Wehberg in his introduction says that this work of Pufendorf has suffered the fate of many books in that it has been "much quoted but little read", and he considers it to be not inferior as far as the law of nations is concerned to Pufendorf's later and better known *De Jure Naturae et Gentium*. Hence, he concludes that the *Elementa* in which all the original ideas of Pufendorf are found "in particular deserves to be rescued from oblivion". This much has at any rate been done for Pufendorf in the publication of these two beautiful volumes.

Although it may be doubted if Pufendorf will be much read or cited he will ever remain one of those who have most greatly influenced the doctrine of the law of nations. This work is therefore appropriately included in the list of the classics of international law and will always interest those who investigate the history of international law and political science.

Dr. Wehberg recognizes that Pufendorf's adoption of the geometric system of treatment with his twenty-one Definitions followed by two Axioms and concluded with five Observations was ill-adapted to the subject. It is interesting to note, for example, a characteristic passage in which Pufendorf remarks upon the correspondence or identity of the law of nations with the law of nature prescribed for individuals (Definition XIII., sec. 24, p. 164). For a nation, he explains, is a product of individuals coalesced into one moral person. This may be compared with the passage quoted above in which Bynkershoek gives a lucid and ultramodern statement of the nature and source of international law.

American University. ELLERY C. STOWELL.

The Dutch Barrier, 1705–1719. By the late RODERICK GEIKIE and ISABEL A. MONTGOMERY, M. A., Ph.D. With a Memoir of Roderick Geikie by G. M. TREVELYAN, and a General Introduction by P. GEYL. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xxi, 418. $7.00.)

THE first portion of this work was completed more than a generation ago, while the second is a recent doctoral dissertation. From Dr. Mont-

gomery's modest introduction it is impossible to guess how much work she has done in preparing Mr. Geikie's manuscript for the press, but it must have been considerable for, with one important exception, the two parts have been welded into a compact whole.

The Barrier in the Netherlands played a significant rôle in European diplomacy from the peace of Nijmwegen to the World War, but never was its importance greater than from 1697 to 1713. It is strange, therefore, that no monograph has heretofore been written upon it. Even this excellent piece of research fails to fill the gap completely, for it begins some years after Ryswick, and almost ignores the Gertrudenberg negotiations of 1710. It sheds some additional light upon peace negotiations at Utrecht, and reveals the existence throughout the war of bitter Anglo-Dutch economic jealousy over their conflicting commercial interests in the Southern Netherlands and West Indies. The rivalry between the imperialists and the maritime powers is also thrown into bold relief.

Failing to secure agreement upon preliminaries of peace after the Battle of Ramillies, the Dutch took advantage of the weakness of the Whigs and Marlborough's vacillation to gain for themselves an advantageous Barrier in 1709. The English similarly availed themselves of the extreme lassitude of the Dutch immediately after Utrecht to secure protection against Jacobite invasion, and at the same time cut down the Barrier of 1709. Geikie is particularly severe upon Marlborough; Dr. Montgomery is equally critical of Bolingbroke, and suggests that Oxford's rôle in the negotiations was more important than has usually been supposed. Geikie's account of Grandpensionary Heinsius is more favorable than that of Mrs. Montgomery. Although Viscount Townshend negotiated both Barrier treaties, we are left without any clear impression of him. It is surprising that the attempt of the imperialists to play off Prince Eugene against Marlborough for the governor-generalship of the Southern Netherlands did not produce bad blood between them. Willem Buys, the pensionary of Amsterdam, received much attention, and is shown in a favorable light.

This book is based upon the Anglo-Dutch diplomatic correspondence found in English and Dutch archives. It is surprising, however, that, with her emphasis upon Anglo-Dutch economic rivalry, Mrs. Montgomery has not utilized the pertinent trade papers in the Record Office. For the archival materials of Vienna and Paris both authors have depended upon German historians. They have in all probability skimmed the cream of the diplomatic dispatches, and it is unlikely that materials found at Vienna or Paris would overthrow the conclusions reached in it. Both writers tell a highly complicated story in a straightforward way, and without any appreciable bias, supplementing their statements by numerous quotations from the documents.

Frequent references are made in the negotiations to many small places,

but only one indifferent map is provided. The formal bibliography is somewhat scanty, and would have been improved by skillful annotations. The works of Gerard, Giraud, and Freschot on the Treaty of Utrecht are omitted, and slight attention has been paid to Abel Boyer's *Annals* and *Political State*. The worst fault, however, is the lack of an index, the absence of which in a learned work to-day seems inexcusable.

Indiana University. WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780. By ALFRED P. WADSWORTH and JULIA DE LACY MANN, Principal of St. Hilda's College, Oxford. (Manchester: University Press. 1931. Pp. xii, 539. 25 s.)

THIS notable study shows the need of placing less emphasis than has been customary upon the dates taken to mark the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. Whether or no the use of the term persists, it is evident that conventional interpretations of the period 1760–1820 must be profoundly changed. This period has been set off too sharply from the years that precede and follow. The present study has gathered up all the stray threads pertaining to the cotton industry, the central focus of interest of the older writers, and it demonstrates the need of following these threads back to the close of the sixteenth century. The invention of the spinning jenny and the water frame, the large extensions in the use of power and of the factory system are here revealed as the culmination of long sequences of economic change and inventive effort. Unless one abandons all attempt at the rationalization of historical processes the initial steps toward the new industrial order must be given more attention than has been customary in the past. English and American writers must recognize, as the Germans do, that the decade 1750–1760 is not a primary line of demarcation in economic history. We have misjudged the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Although the study possesses some of the features of a local monograph, it is in fact a broadly conceived study of the cotton industry and trade. The cotton trade is discussed from the point of view of the world market, the industry is followed through all the primary industrial centers of Europe, and the other textiles are discussed sufficiently to make clear the competition or association between the various fibers. These problems have not been ignored in the past, but they have not been examined with such care in any single work. The chapters on marketing methods are perhaps the most distinctive contribution. They disclose a rich documentation for the entire period. The introduction of the more important machines has been worked over with great care; so that we have much new information of the early use of the Dutch small-wares (or ribbon) loom, on the develop-

ment of calico printing, the introduction of the silk throwing mill, the flying shuttle, and the spinning machines. The discussion of the organization of the wage-earning class in Lancashire is based on a large mass of new material of great importance for the study of the development of trade unions.

Unfortunately, the work has not, at all times, been executed in the broad spirit in which it is planned. Both authors occasionally evade the larger issues. On a number of technical matters research work was not pushed to a final decision. A small amount of work, however, would have settled a number of important points in regard to the friezes and "cottoned" woolen fabrics of the late sixteenth century. The authors seem, also, actually to have had at hand new evidence on the divergent forms of the early spinning machines, but it is not fully utilized. The book fails by a small margin of achieving finality, despite a remarkable breadth of research, involving the use of foreign archives in addition to the national and local records of England. In various matters of interpretation, the authors avoid generalization or suggest general judgments which are inconsistent with their text. The notable discussion of the labor movement is seriously impaired by the lax references to *laissez faire* tendencies in national policy. There is also some inconsistency between generalization and text discussion in the passages concerned with the history of the flying shuttle in England and in France.

These shortcomings are largely due to the excessive modesty of the authors, who have given us a much more important work than they believed to lie within their capacities. The substance of a notable piece of research is made effectively available to the trained reader. It is a great contribution toward a revision of judgment upon a basic period in the economic history of Great Britain.

Harvard University. ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

The Social and Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Revolutionary Era. A Series of Lectures delivered at King's College, University of London, during the Session, 1929–1930. Edited by F. J. C. HEARNSHAW, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of King's College and Professor of Mediaeval History in the University of London. (London: George G. Harrap and Company. 1931. Pp. 252. 7s. 6d.)

IT has been said of H. G. Wells's excursion into universal history that specialists in all fields lamented the inadequacy of his treatment of their respective specialties but were amazed by his mastery of others' fields. It is perhaps for the same reason that the present reviewer considers the two least satisfactory essays in this book the studies of The Revolutionary Era

in France, by J. Holland Rose, and of The Socialist Tradition in the French Revolution, by Harold Laski. Mr. Rose sees nothing but confusion and misfortune in the Terror. Hence he misses the two most original and most important contributions of the French Revolution to political theory—two ideas that almost alone in revolutionary theory had not already been voiced by the *philosophes*. These were that a country of large extent and huge population could be a republic without breaking up into federated units, and that such a republic could be as absolute in emergency as monarchy ever dreamed of being.

Mr. Laski also neglects the Terror, but in his case, out of deliberate choice. He allows it to be seen between the lines that he is aware of the importance of the socialist experiments that were forced upon the Terror government, but he limits socialism, for reasons that are not clear, to "consistent and systematic principles" and excludes "extraordinary ideas meant to cope with an extraordinary situation" (p. 209). Hence, his discussion of socialism during the French Revolution omits almost entirely the successes of a régime that fixed wages and prices; requisitioned men, money, and supplies; regulated with greater or less governmental supervision all important industries; and confiscated the wealth of certain rich men in order to redistribute it among certain poor ones. One is allowed to come away with the impression that the finest the French Revolution could do along socialistic lines was the harebrained effort of Babeuf to overthrow a government which was constantly aware of his plotting.

But if these two essays were the least satisfactory to the present reviewer, it is quite probable that specialists in other fields would have taken greater exception to some of the others. It does not seem at all likely that Mr. Robert McElroy's lecture on The Theorists of the American Revolution, with its emphasis on classical tradition and its omission of John Dickinson, Samuel Adams, the constitutions, and the *Federalist,* would please historians of the United States, or that Mr. G. E. Veitsch's pages on The Early English Radicals, which say almost nothing about Priestley, would please the English historians. But Mr. M. G. Atkins's study of The German Thinkers of the Revolutionary Era might strike historians of Germany as more adequate.

On the other hand, the essays on individuals seem highly satisfactory. The wholesome impudence of Mr. J. W. Allen toward Jeremy Bentham offsets the halo with which Mr. F. J. C. Hearnshaw crowns Edmund Burke; and the detailed analysis by Mr. Norman Sykes of Thomas Paine emphasizes the keenness of Mr. C. H. Driver's critique of William Godwin. From the book as a whole, though specialists will undoubtedly carp, there are many ideas and more facts to be derived.

The University of Chicago. Louis R. Gottschalk.

Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, 1742–1811: Political Manager of Scotland, Statesman, Administrator of British India. By HOLDEN FURBER, M.A., Ph.D. (London: Humphrey Milford; New York: Oxford University Press. 1931. Pp. xi, 331. $5.00.)

THE above title indicates three aspects of the public career of Henry Dundas. Some at least would be reluctant to label him as a statesman, while the average reader of history will remember him as the close associate of the younger Pitt and as the last person to be impeached by the British Parliament. Although considered in the works relating to the period and the subject of more than one article, he had to wait more than a century after his death for a separate biography. In 1916, Mr. J. A. Lovat-Fraser published a study in a slender volume. Reasonably adequate on most phases of the public pursuits of the assiduous Scot, it had very little to offer on the most piquant of his activities—his political management in Scotland. Mr. Lovat-Fraser's reason for this disappointing omission was the fact that the family papers in Melville Castle were not open to inspection.

Eight years later, in 1924, the Melville papers were broken up and sold. With the advantage of access to the Scottish correspondence, now lodged in the National Library of Scotland, together with the Indian correspondence in the possession of Mr. Francis Edwards—to say nothing of numerous other sources diligently exploited—Mr. Holden Furber has essayed a more extensive study, including a detailed account of the devious courses pursued by Dundas in the manipulation of elections north of the Border. Nevertheless, the more recent biographer has been obliged, in his turn, to confess to a limitation. Since "many other items of interest have been scattered among a large number of private dealers in England and America", he tells us, "the following pages do not pretend to present a complete biography of Dundas, they pretend rather to give certain phases of the extraordinarily varied career of this eighteenth century Scotchman more adequate treatment than they have hitherto received". The description of the involved system of voting in Scotland in the pre-Reform days is the best known to the reviewer. Incidentally Boswell appears in a new light to those who have known him chiefly as a biographer.

Previous to the advent of the sensational idol-smashing type of writer it was the normal tendency for a biographer to interpret his subject as sympathetically as possible. Mr. Furber has followed this tradition, though he has not ignored evidence telling against Dundas. For example, while saying all possible in his behalf, he is fully alive to his shortcomings as a war minister. In connection with the impeachment, however, it is a pity that the tale of the irregularities in the navy office previous to 1786 could not have been developed at more length. Next to his participation in

Scotch affairs the work of Dundas in India is treated in most detail. No doubt the author has rated his achievements in this field more highly than some; but he has effectually modified James Mill's famous disparagement. For one thing, he produces evidence to show that it was the aim of Dundas to appoint to Indian posts only those who were qualified for the job. The colored maps showing the rise and decline of the Dundas influence in Scotland are exceedingly helpful. One wishes that the concluding chapter containing a final estimate could have been fuller on the personal side. Altogether this is an intelligent interpretation based upon much research, which only needed an examination of the supplementary documents now scattered in the hands of private collectors to make it complete.

The University of Michigan. ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

La Vie Économique des Provinces Illyriennes, 1809–1813. Suivi d'une Bibliographie Critique. Par MELITTA PIVEC-STELÈ, Bibliothécaire à la Bibliothèque de Ljubljana. [Institut d'Études Slaves de l'Université de Paris, Collection Historique, VI.] (Paris: Éditions Bossard. 1930. Pp. lxxii, 350. 60 fr.)

THOSE who, like Alberto Lumbroso, have lamented the lack of special studies on the Continental Blockade will enthusiastically welcome the work of this Slovenian scholar. The Illyrian Provinces figure among the most typical Napoleonic conglomerations, owing their existence to aims which were essentially transitory. Only scanty traces of the French occupation survived its termination, but the very compression of the episode into four years has rather facilitated the task of stating precisely the consequences of Napoleonic policy.

This M. Pivec-Stelè has done well, giving us incidentally one of the best detailed pictures of the local administration and general economic life which we have of any portion of the Napoleonic empire. He admits that Napoleon's aims in depriving Austria of her maritime provinces were at first largely military, but holds that the demands of his economic system soon overshadowed every other consideration. By closing the eastern Adriatic to British commerce, the Danube monarchy, nominally subjected to the Continental system since 1806, would for the first time be made to feel its full rigors. Illyria, however, was also to make the blockade more bearable to Western Continental Europe by opening a new avenue to the overland traffic with the Levant, stimulated enormously by the naval war. The acquisition seemingly offered to France cheaper and more direct communication with the Near East, while depriving Austria of an important monopoly.

The enforcement of the blockade, submitted to with unequaled docility

by the inarticulate population, was a terrific economic catastrophe; Illyria, in the words of a contemporary formula which the author inscribes on his title-page, became "le pays le plus malheureux de la terre". She found herself without a market for her minerals and desperately in need of supplies which she was accustomed to draw from abroad. The new Levantine commerce was some compensation, but it never reached the expectations of Napoleon. The French were disappointed in their hope of stopping the leak in "the system" in the eastern Adriatic. As elsewhere smuggling developed on a grand scale, assisted particularly by the topography of the country.

In general the record of the French administration was far from discreditable; the author even admits its success in gradually improving the economic situation. But the real evil, as Marmont and his able subordinates saw only too well, was the application of the blockade, which interfered with the normal progress of every branch of economic life. So the Illyrian government found itself restricted to palliatives, and its only lasting contribution was the phenomenal development of the roads and posts, aimed largely to favor the ephemeral Levantine trade.

M. Pivec-Stelè makes little attempt to trace the general tendencies of the economic policy of Napoleon, confining himself strictly to his immediate subject. His announced intention of avoiding burdensome detail is not always kept in view and the exclusive use of Slavic place-names will confuse those acquainted only with their German or Italian equivalents. It might have been well to include an appropriate glossary. The book contains a complete and well annotated bibliography.

The University of Minnesota. HAROLD C. DEUTSCH.

The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1812–1815: Britain and the Reconstruction of Europe. By C. K. WEBSTER, Litt.D., Professor of International Politics in the University of Wales, Fellow of the British Academy. (London: G. Bell and Sons; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1931. Pp. xv, 589. $7.50.)

IN his *Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815–1822,* Professor Webster six years ago undertook a partial revaluation of the work of the British foreign secretary who played so vital a rôle in the work of European reconstruction after the Napoleonic wars. In this interesting and scholarly work, broadly based on numerous archives, he established the position of Lord Castlereagh as the sponsor of diplomacy by conference. In the book which he has just completed, with no less thorough and searching use of the materials available, he analyzes the rôle of the great foreign minister in the critical years of the Napoleonic struggle, and in the making of the peace. The volume which he has produced is as nearly definitive a study

as can be hoped for, once granted its approach to the problems of the era from the viewpoint of British diplomacy, and its closing chapter is a new estimate of Lord Castlereagh's statesmanship which could hardly be excelled for breadth of understanding, and for wise assessment of the strengths and the weaknesses of this important figure.

The point which stands out above all others in Professor Webster's analysis is that Castlereagh was not only a British, but a European, statesman. From the beginning to the end of the period, he thought in European terms. His views were not, of course, original with him; much of his policy was based upon the famous "draft to Vorontsov" in which Pitt, in 1804, had formulated the elements of British policy. But from beginning to end of his tenure of the Foreign Office, Lord Londonderry directed his effort toward putting these ideas into practice. As early as September, 1813, he was thinking of a perpetual defensive alliance for the maintenance of peace against France; and it was due principally to his efforts that the jealous Allies were bound together in the famous treaty of Chaumont, with its pledge to protect Europe against French aggression. Castlereagh's European outlook was also manifested in the discussions of the peace. It required great courage for him, despite the lack of instructions, to enter into the alliance of January 3, 1815, with France and Austria, to check Russian and Prussian pretensions on the Saxon question; and the step which he took certainly contributed (though Professor Webster is careful to declare that it was not necessarily essential) to the happy solution of a dangerous problem. Even a broader outlook (whatever one may think of its practicability or wisdom), distinguished the notion of a general and reciprocal territorial guarantee brought forward by Castlereagh in the winter of 1815.

This last conception, however, was before long abandoned. It is to be regretted that on this extremely interesting point, on Londonderry's final adoption of the expedient of peace by conference, rather than by reciprocal guarantee, Professor Webster's researches, far-reaching as they have been, have not yielded more results. Was it the opposition of the British cabinet which compelled Castlereagh to a change of mind? Was it friction between Great Britain and Russia? Was it such misgivings as the British foreign secretary had himself expressed at an earlier date? Was it some process of abstract reasoning? Professor Webster hints of the answer to all these questions, but his data permit no final conclusion.

Professor Webster is never better than in his summation of the Congress of Vienna. It is of the essence of sound historical study that the historian should place himself in the atmosphere of the time with which he deals. Yet writer after writer has dealt with the settlements of 1815 in the light of the national movements of the nineteenth century, which

could hardly have been appreciated at the time. *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh* corrects this viewpoint. It makes clear the necessity of proceeding on a basis of the balance of power. It successfully explains why Lord Castlereagh acted on this principle. After all, he and his compeers produced a settlement which lasted longer than any other general settlement which had preceded it, and for a period of more than forty years.

Professor Webster is no blind eulogist of the British foreign secretary. His incapacity to associate others with him in his work, or to gain popular backing for his policies, he freely admits. His conservative views with regard to domestic policy he sharply criticizes, especially his policy in Spain, Naples, and Piedmont, where Castlereagh "took the side of the dynasts". But these only qualify, they do not seriously alter, the general picture. Castlereagh remains a striking figure, and one of large views, genuinely interested in a stable Europe.

American readers of this book will hope that the author will fulfill his intention of some day dealing with Anglo-American relations during this same period. These aspects of diplomacy are purposely neglected; but even so, one finds an occasional interesting detail, like Castlereagh's proposal to Spain to guarantee an understanding with Mexico in 1812, and his willingness to accept peace with the United States on the basis of the *status quo ante* as early as January, 1814.

Professor Webster easily justifies the absence of a bibliography by reference to preceding works. But when will books published in Britain be provided with indexes that are more than lists of proper names, at most, of proper names in their relation to one another?

The University of Rochester. DEXTER PERKINS.

Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850. By IVY PINCHBECK, M.A., Lecturer in Economic History at Bedford College, University of London. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1930. Pp. x, 342. $5.00.)

AN early report of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Improving the Comforts of the Poor, which was one of the favorite charities of William Wilberforce, discusses "the prevalence of profligacy and misery among the lower classes of females, not merely in London but in the Kingdom at large". Police reports at the beginning of the nineteenth century showed the appalling record of prostitution and crime to which women were reduced by their inability to obtain regular employment. Married women apparently shared the activities of their husbands and also had fairly stable employment in their own homes. But the women alone, unmarried or widowed, thrown upon their own resources, were reduced to very hard circumstances.

The effects of the Industrial Revolution have been dealt with by a series of competent scholars. But Miss Pinchbeck has found new material in the special field of women's work. The description of the work of the wives of farmers and cottagers and of women servants in husbandry, before the agrarian revolution, is very interesting. "Premiums offered by agricultural societies for general improvements in farming were not infrequently won by women working smaller holdings." There was a gradual increase in the number of women farm laborers through the latter years of the eighteenth century up to the end of the war, although no statistics are available showing the proportion of women employed or the amount of work they were able to obtain.

Along with the increase in the number of women gainfully employed, there was a decline in women's professional activities. The nineteenth century closed such doors as had apparently been opened in the preceding century. For example, there were many women who were interested in the care of the sick poor and who gave them such medical attention as they received. But scientific training for medicine, from which women were excluded, made it more and more difficult for them to retain their footing in this field. Miss Pinchbeck notes, for example, the parliamentary grant of £5000 (no small sum at that time) to a Mrs. Joanna Stephens, a noted practitioner of the eighteenth century, on condition that she make known "her method of preparing her medicines". Ellen Haythornthwaite was supposed to be one of the best surgeons of the latter part of the eighteenth century; and the authorities of Epsom offered Sarah Mapp, a famous bone-setter, £100 a year to remain in the neighborhood. Mrs. Mapp drove her coach and four twice a week to London, where she received her patients in the Grecian Coffee House.

The discussion of the employment of women in agriculture is perhaps newer and more useful than the chapters on women in industry. The position of farmers' wives, dairywomen, women servants in husbandry, cottagers' wives, and women day laborers is described, and the writer takes us down through the nineteenth century bluebooks on Women and Children in Agriculture to the close of the nineteenth century, when the employment of women as agricultural wage-earners had practically disappeared. The use of women was no longer necessary because of the increase in male wages and the extensive use of machinery.

The University of Chicago. EDITH ABBOTT.

Europe, the World's Banker, 1870–1914: an Account of European Foreign Investment and the Connection of World Finance with Diplomacy before the War. By HERBERT FEIS. With an Introduction by CHARLES P. HOWLAND. [Published for the Council on Foreign Relations.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xxiii, 469. $5.00.)

THE notions men have of their interests control their action; and if groups that have found ways of profiting from financial transactions resting for their ultimate sanction upon the political support of their governments enter into direct or indirect competition in enough places and on a sufficiently large scale, a conflict of interest will result. In the light of this principle, Mr. Feis undertakes to explore the financial antecedents of some of the diplomatic maneuvering in the four decades prior to the World War. His first three chapters present a compact record of the movement of capital from England, France, and Germany. Chapters IV. to VI. review, in much more detail, the relation between political and financial interests, in the same three countries. Then the author undertakes to study specific instances of the conflict of interest between these countries and their respective associates or rivals. The financial difficulties of Russia, Austria, and Italy are reviewed; the curious history of Portuguese borrowing and the preparations for the division of Portuguese colonies are traced, while the best chapters in the book present the most lucid and impartial analysis, available in English, of the course of the Turkish, Balkan, Persian, and Egyptian financial rivalries of the Central and Western European groups. Brief reference is made to developments in Japan and China. The discussion of the financial operations of European interests in the Western Hemisphere is fragmentary and merely illustrative.

There is much excellent writing in this volume, and it must be regarded as, on the whole, a creditable contribution. It is strange that systematic examination of the economic and political *modus operandi* and consequences of the exportation of capital has been left pretty much where, early in this century, the pioneer studies of Sartorius von Waltershausen and the Comte de St. Maurice had brought it. Even the great treatises in the field of economic theory and history, the conduct of international relations, and other cognate domains, touch upon it in conventional terms; and encyclopedic references furnish even less nourishment. It is a borderline subject, requiring for truly adequate treatment the sure resort to the apparatus of several quite distinct disciplines.

In the very nature of the case, the material pertinent to the plan of this book could not be completely examined and critically valued; it would even have been a substantial task to catalogue it all. Mr. Feis concedes this in his bibliographical notes, and in his general reference to Latin America

(pp. 192 ff.). He has, none the less, made commendable use of the monographic literature, and in the cases of certain controversies, he cites parliamentary and other papers of documentary character. Utilization of the valuable neutral comment in Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia might have been helpful in some instances; the reports of some of the older investment trusts would have indicated how the respective issues gained or lost prestige.

Occasionally, an atmosphere of deprecation characterizes the more general observations of the author. "It is difficult", he says (p. 156), "to recall, after surveying the relationship between finance and government in France, the ruling conception of the economic texts that investment and the business of buying and selling of securities are private activities, decided by the taste and judgment of the savers and the banks, bringing profit and loss according to the wisdom of private decision. In so many ways did the investment of French capital abroad come within the field of governmental cognizance and regulation, so regularly were judgments and favors passed back and forth between governments and banks." But the "economic texts" nowhere rule out the effect of such factors as public regulation, private influence, and the like; they usually emphasize the fact that they are dealing with fundamental principles, operating in a vacuum under the laboratory microscope. Their authors assume that each transaction will be affected and controlled by concepts of individual, corporate, or national interest. The public archives of all lending, and many borrowing, countries could illustrate the type of situation the author emphasizes as eminently characteristic of France. Given our generally accepted economic and social sanctions, it is rather natural for men in business, within those sanctions, to utilize governmental support, or to ally themselves profitably with public policies. That their calculations are often wrong as in most fields of human action is hardly to be denied; and that we should be somewhat nearer the grasp of underlying realities if they more frequently avowed the political aspect or *liaison*, is obvious.

Washington, D. C. CONSTANTINE E. MCGUIRE.

French Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs, 1870–1914. By E. MALCOLM CARROLL, Associate Professor of History in Duke University. [Published for the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 348. $3.50.)

PROFESSOR CARROLL'S book is important for the history of diplomacy; it has additional value because of the light it throws on a serious political problem—the relation of a democracy to the conduct of its foreign affairs. Recognizing fully the difficulties that beset the path of the historian who attempts to reconstruct public opinion of the past, the author seeks its

evidences in letters, parliamentary records, books, pamphlets, periodicals, and especially in the newspaper press. He has used an amazing amount of material in a scholarly and judicial fashion. In employing the term "public opinion" to signify something that transcends a mere aggregate of individual opinions, the author necessarily assumes that articulate members of a political society express mass opinion, or, on the other hand, that by their very articulation they create in others the views which they themselves hold. Such assumptions, which are implied in Dr. Carroll's use of the term, call to mind Napoleon's dictum that three shrieking women make more noise than a thousand silent men, and that it would be a great error to attribute too much influence to shrieking women in the formulation and expression of public opinion. However, disagreement with the author's theory of public opinion in no way detracts from the high merits of his work.

On the basis of a thorough study of primary and secondary materials the full narrative of diplomatic action is skillfully interwoven with the evidences of public opinion, and the relation of the two securely fixed and emphasized. Motives which frequently remain obscure when diplomatic documents alone are relied upon become apparent, while at the same time the atmosphere in which negotiations were conducted and policies determined is recovered in a striking manner.

Special attention is devoted to the reaction of public opinion to Franco-German relations. *Revanche* sentiment was a latent but powerful factor between 1871 and 1898. Thereafter, it was kept alive only by the efforts of a small organized minority. No responsible minister, however, dared to advocate reconciliation with Germany on the basis of the *status quo*. After 1907, statesmen and publicists impressed upon the nation the thesis that France's security and her position as a great power depended upon the maintenance of the European equilibrium through preservation and strengthening of the Triple Entente. This period witnessed a revival of confidence in the national strength, an increased interest in the armed forces, and a marked development of nationalist sentiment. In sanctioning the war in 1914, public opinion was not impelled by the *revanche* spirit. The thesis that the balance of power must be preserved, even at the cost of war, was accepted.

In light of this study some current opinions in this particular field will require revision. Especially is this true with regard to such subjects as the Ems dispatch, the Boulanger agitation, the Fashoda incident, Delcassé's resignation, and Russian subsidies to the French press. Altogether, Dr. Carroll has performed his task well. He has broken new ground in his treatment of French public opinion, giving us at the same time a most satisfactory account of French foreign policy under the Third Republic.

The University of Virginia. O. J. Hale.

Germany and the Diplomatic Revolution: a Study in Diplomacy and the Press, 1904–1906. By ORON JAMES HALE, Assistant Professor of History, University of Virginia. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1931. Pp. ix, 233. $2.50.)

THE importance of the study of contemporary newspapers to an understanding of modern international relations is clearly demonstrated by this volume, throwing, as it does, new light on many aspects of a period for which abundant diplomatic documents, memoirs, and other materials have been repeatedly worked over. Further accessions to these materials are to be expected, and some have become available since the writing of this book was completed. Nevertheless, account must be taken of Professor Hale's researches in the field of the press in any reformulation of the story of these years. His analysis of the tendencies of leading newspapers in England, France, and Germany and his consideration of the reciprocal influence of press and government on each other in these countries offer useful indications for the guidance of further studies in the field. The following observations emerge from his study of the relationship of the press to the "diplomatic revolution". In the polemics which did so much to embitter Anglo-German relations, the newspapers engaged on the English side represented broader constituencies and were more influential than the German organs whose articles were misleadingly served up to English readers as reflecting popular and official opinion across the North Sea. The evidence given would not support the reverse of the proposition: "Even had the government been inclined to go further in negotiating a clearing agreement with Germany, such as that concluded with France, it would have incurred the unalterable hostility of the influential British press." The English press displayed greater and more general enthusiasm for the Entente Cordiale than did the French and took a stiffer attitude in the first Moroccan crisis. Hostility toward Germany in the French press did not become widespread and intense until provoked by Tattenbach's negotiations for loans and concessions in Morocco after Delcassé's resignation and the Franco-German accord of July 8, 1905.

The heart of the book is its treatment of the fall of Delcassé. It is particularly regrettable that this section was written before publication of Bülow's memoirs and Paléologue's article on the subject in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for June 15, 1931. Professor Hale's supposition that the interview between Henckel von Donnersmarck and Rouvier took place at an earlier date than assigned by most writers is borne out by Paléologue's diary, which places it on May 8, 1905. On the other hand, his painstaking demonstration of the apocryphal character of the *Gaulois* account of that interview is completely upset by Paléologue's introduction of a new character, the broker Léon, as bearer, on June 5, of a message from Bülow essen-

tially similar to that formerly attributed to Henckel von Donnersmarck. The entire episode requires reconsideration in the light of these and other fresh contributions; but that reconsideration must remain influenced by the fact, which Professor Hale points out, of Delcassé's lack of public support, as made evident in criticism of his policies by newspapers of all shades of opinion. Paléologue notes only the Socialist opposition.

It should be added that the author has made effective, if necessarily limited, use of American archives, particularly reports of the minister in Morocco, in supplementing the European diplomatic correspondence.

Washington, D. C. J. V. FULLER.

Die Europäische Politik in der Julikrise, 1914. Gutachten des Sachverständigen HERMANN LUTZ. [*Die Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges.* Im Auftrage des Ersten Unterausschusses unter Mitwirkung von Dr. EUGEN FISCHER als Generalsekretär und Sekretär des 1. Unterausschusses, herausgegeben von CLARA BOHM-SCHUCH, Vorsitzender des 1. Unterausschusses, Band XI. Das Werk des Untersuchungsausschusses der Verfassunggebenden Deutschen Nationalversammlung und des Deutschen Reichstages, 1919-1930, Erste Reihe.] (Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte. 1930. Pp. 595. 54 M.)

THIS volume is one of a series of expert opinions submitted by nonpolitical personages to the investigating committee set up by the German National Assembly in 1919 to examine into the causes of the German collapse. The main section is based on the evidence available in February, 1928, including the unpublished reports of the Saxon and Württemberg ministers and military attachés in Berlin; in a postscript, the material is considered which appeared up to the end of 1929, including the Austro-Hungarian documents. It is the fullest German account of the 1914 crisis. But it is not a book which will provide much satisfaction to his countrymen, for Herr Lutz, endeavoring to approach the problem as "a neutral expert" (p. 7), has followed his conscience rather than the propagandists (he often tilts against Count Montgelas and Herr von Wegerer) and has written a devastating criticism of German policy in July, 1914.

Although the murder at Sarajevo and the subsequent conduct of the Serbian government justified strong demands on the part of Austria-Hungary, Herr Lutz is of the opinion that the "decision to reduce, isolate, and eliminate Serbia as a factor of power" was not "the suitable means" to preserve the Hapsburg state, for its rejuvenation "had to come about *in the first line from the inside*" (pp. 27-28). He then challenges the favorite German argument that Germany had to support this program, from fear of losing her one reliable ally. Berlin, he says, was not dependent on Vienna.

but Vienna on Berlin, "For where would Austria-Hungary have found a sincere ally?" (pp. 33-34). He frankly admits that "the resolution of Vienna was turned into action without restriction only through the German *Blankovollmacht*. And therein lies the co-responsibility [*Mitverantwortung*] of the German government for the steps of Austria-Hungary" (p. 36). If Herr Lutz insists, and the reviewer agrees, that the German emperor and his chancellor did not expect a European conflagration, he condemns their "short-sighted misunderstanding of the international situation" (p. 31), and honestly recognizes the fatal consequences of their decision.

In page after page Herr Lutz rings the changes on German policy up to July 29. He has no doubt that Jagow, the German foreign minister, reckoned with "a quite considerable rearrangement [*Umwälzung*] in the Balkans favorable to Austria", *i. e.*, the partition of Serbia, although the dangers involved were understood in Berlin, according to the Bavarian chargé, whose reports are declared to be *"im ganzen durchaus zutreffend"*, in spite of efforts to discredit them (p. 67). He thinks that "Berlin and Vienna would have done well to consider the warnings received [from the other capitals] not as mere attempts at intimidation, but to take them seriously" (p. 75); unfortunately, Berlin thought that it could "intimidate" [*abschrecken*] the other powers (p. 83) into accepting the Austrian ultimatum, the content of which was known "pretty exactly" (p. 490) and which, as was also known, was being made "intentionally unacceptable" (p. 73). If, however, as Bethmann and Jagow later averred, they thought the note "too sharp" when they saw the text nearly twenty-four hours in advance of its presentation, then, declares Herr Lutz, they were in duty bound: "1. To say so to the Austrian government; 2. To make an effort to delay the delivery of the note; 3. To change the dispatch D. [*Die Deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch*] no. 100", which declared the demands "moderate and proper" (pp. 75–76). Then, not content with approving the ultimatum, Berlin was guilty of "a further folly" (p. 129) in urging Vienna to a precipitate declaration of war, an "excessively wanton" step which establishes the "co-responsibility" of the German government for this act (pp. 131, 133, 502). This brings Herr Lutz to the famous and much debated Szögyény telegram of July 27 (*Austrian Red Book*, vol. II., no. 68), and he courageously declares that it is not to be explained away by the "alleged senility" of the ambassador or some obscurities, for it "fully coincides" with the attitude of the German government up to that time as established by other documents (p. 141); in particular, Berlin did nothing to prevent the Austrian declaration of war which was known to be imminent (p. 145). He further notes that on July 28 the German government "did not fully act in the sense of the emperor's proposal to Jagow", for it continued its insistence on the "complete fulfillment" of the Austrian demands (pp. 148-151) and added "an unfortunate postscript" (p. 212) to its note to Vienna (D. no. 323) which minimized its effect.

Berchtold is handled with great severity. He intended to partition Serbia, and his assurances in respect of the territorial integrity of that state were, in view of the resolutions of the ministerial council of July 19, both misleading and worthless (pp. 162, 174-176, 299). But this was far less important than the question of Serbian sovereignty, with which, so Herr Lutz repeatedly asserts, the Austrian ultimatum, especially points 5 and 6, was not compatible. This was indeed the *"fond du débat"*, Renouvin's phrase being several times quoted. Herr Lutz is skeptical of the concession finally extorted from Berchtold by the Russian ambassador in Vienna, namely that Austria did not intend to "annihilate" the independence of Serbia: *"vernichten"* left the door open for "more or less far-reaching encroachments" (p. 302). The author, though he blames the German government for not securing from Vienna adequate guarantees of Serbian sovereignty and for not communicating to Russia Berchtold's last minute concession (p. 301), evidently feels that it was Berchtold's intransigence on this point which accelerated the Russian mobilization, and is accordingly critical. He also berates the Austrian minister for not yielding to German pressure on July 30 and 31. Quite probably, as Herr Lutz argues, Berchtold's attitude was influenced by the insidious conduct of Tschirschky, who did not loyally execute his instructions (pp. 218-226) and by the intervention of Moltke with Conrad. But Herr Lutz does not, as it seems to the reviewer, appreciate fully enough the significance of the Potsdam-Berlin conversations on July 5 and 6. Szögyény's telegrams for those days (*A. R. B.*, vol. I., nos. 6 and 7) leave no doubt that he explained the Austrian desire to "march into Serbia", that William II. and Bethmann-Hollweg agreed to this, and that they promised German assistance in case Russia intervened. Surely Vienna was entitled to hold Berlin to its promise, even though the German government had begun to rue its bargain, all the more so in view of the subsequent incitation from Berlin.

In dealing with German policy from July 29 on, Herr Lutz concedes that Moltke was in favor of a preventive war, believing it "unavoidable" [*unabwendbar*] (pp. 192-200, 227, 234, 318, n.). In his memorandum of July 28 the chief of staff took the position that "Germany would have to mobilize if Russia mobilizes against Austria, that consequently [*also*] already in this case the *casus fœderis* would have arisen for Germany, because the partial mobilization of Russia would force Austria to general mobilization, and from this war must result [*entstehen*]" (p. 203)—exactly the stipulations of the Conrad-Moltke letters of 1909 which Moltke (though not the government) considered "binding" (p. 204, n. 1). "On July 29 and 30 Moltke worked for war" (p. 507), before he knew surely of the Russian general mobilization. Unlike many German writers, Herr Lutz does not attempt to invalidate the reports of Wenninger, the Bavarian military attaché in Berlin, partly because they are confirmed by the reports of his

Saxon colleague; nor does he think that the episode of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* has been satisfactorily cleared up (pp. 510, 511). He does not believe that Bethmann surrendered to military pressure on the evening of July 30, but his discussion of this point is disappointingly brief, hardly more than a bald statement of fact. It should be added that Herr Lutz ascribes to military men in Paris and London more influence on official policy than do most previous writers.

Not many Germans have admitted that the Serbian mobilization was "a legitimate measure of defense" (p. 128), or that "one can not really deny the right of Russia to intercede for the protection of Serbian sovereignty and integrity, both of which were obviously threatened by Austria-Hungary" (p. 249). Herr Lutz also grants that "at the beginning of the crisis Sazonov neither desired war nor worked for it" (p. 250). If he criticizes the Russian minister for ordering partial mobilization before the Austrians actually crossed the Serbian frontier, he recognizes the provocation: "the oversharp ultimatum to Serbia, the refusal to prolong the time limit, the rupture of diplomatic relations in spite of the conciliatory Serbian reply, the refusal of Vienna to negotiate about the ultimatum, and finally—instead of the expected pressure of Berlin on Vienna—the declaration of war on Serbia" (p. 251); if he emphasizes the pressure of the military elements for general mobilization, he notes that at least they professed to act from "the conviction that the Central Powers desired war" (p. 254). The doctrine that "mobilization means war" is fully accepted by Herr Lutz, but his complaint is not so much with the general mobilization *per se*—the right of Russia to defend Serbia is conceded—as with its being ordered prematurely. For he contends that on July 30 a basis for peace was in sight. On that day Berchtold had declared that "we do not wish to pursue a policy of conquest in Serbia or to infringe her sovereignty". Sazonov was ready the next day to accept the Anglo-German plan of a *"Halt in Belgrad"* (pp. 245, 308, 511). Even if, as Herr Lutz suspects, the declarations of Vienna "were probably never meant sincerely but intended for the gallery, yet they had been made so definitely in London, Paris, and Berlin on July 31 that without further ado they provided the Powers with a lever *for tying down* [*festzulegen*] *the Danube monarchy to these official declarations*" (p. 311). It was the Russian mobilization which destroyed the possibility of negotiations. This is an interesting contribution to the debate and certainly merits further examination, although in view of the Austrian decisions of July 31, the probability of a compromise seems very doubtful. Herr Lutz wonders if Paléologue, the French ambassador, did not play much the same rôle that Tschirschky did in Vienna.

As regards France, the main argument is that France was not bound to assist her ally, for Russia had resorted to mobilization against Austria without consulting France, as was provided for by the general-staff agreement of

April, 1906 (p. 260). Furthermore, since the Russian mobilization was equivalent to an attack on Germany, the military convention of 1893 was not applicable. On the other hand, Herr Lutz denies that "in 1914 the German government with its *'Blankovollmacht'* and its recognition of the *casus fœderis* overstepped the limits of the alliance treaty with Austria-Hungary" (p. 473), for the existence of the Dual Monarchy was at stake.

The author's attitude toward British policy is well known through his *Lord Grey und der Weltkrieg*. Here he contends that Russia was as dependent on Great Britain as Austria was on Germany, and that Grey should have restrained Sazonov as Bethmann should have held Berchtold back. The weakness of the argument is that so long as Berlin gave Vienna a free hand, Grey could hardly be expected to warn Sazonov, especially as he believed Austria to be in the wrong and Russian interests to be involved. Herr Lutz understands well enough why at first in London "confidence was lacking in the intentions of Berlin" (p. 186). When Grey was convinced that Bethmann was trying to mediate, he began to urge Sazonov to hold his hand. What Herr Lutz has to say about Grey's statement of July 25 that he expected Russian mobilization, the failure to inform Russia that Austrian military operations would not begin until August 5, and the delay in bringing forward the Belgian question, is all pertinent to a proper judgment of British policy. But his contention that Grey could have saved the peace of Europe by an early declaration of British intentions—which may be true, though opinions differ widely—is academic. The cabinet was so divided that an attempt to force through a declaration either for neutrality or for intervention would have involved numerous resignations and probably the fall of the government, as the reviewer has good reason to believe.

This book has been reviewed at length because it is the most important German contribution to the problem since Brandenburg's *Von Bismarck zum Weltkriege*. Commenting on the Allied note of June 16, 1919, Herr Lutz remarks that "the German people is justified in replying 'Not guilty' to the charge made. But to enlarge on this, as if Germany were generally *'innocent'* [*unschuldig*] in respect to the World War is a distortion of the facts" (p. 454, n. 2). So long as German writers attempt to whitewash their rulers of 1914, so long will Frenchmen and Englishmen defend their governments to the uttermost. But when a German of Herr Lutz's standing admits so handsomely the faults and follies of the old régime, albeit with an aching heart, his criticisms of the conduct of other governments will receive respectful consideration, even if his assessment of "guilt"—Russia-Serbia, Austria, and then, "in alphabetical order", England, France, and Germany (p. 536)—may still be debated. His monumental work will do more to promote what he calls *"die deutsche Sache"* than all the writings of the conventional propagandists.

The University of Chicago. BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Deux Années à Berlin, 1912–1914. Par Baron BEYENS, ancien Ministre de Belgique à Berlin. Deux tomes. (Paris: Plon. 1931. Pp. iv, 299; 330. 25 fr. each.)

To the steadily growing volume of materials on the origins of the war are now added these memoirs by Baron Beyens, Belgian minister to Germany, 1912–1914. As representative of a state that was certain to play an important rôle in a war between the rival diplomatic groups, and whose good will was therefore courted by each, he was in an exceptionally favorable position to receive confidential information from both sides, information which his trained historical judgment enabled him to analyze, correlate, and interpret with masterly skill and exactness. Again and again one is struck by the accuracy of his appraisals and the correctness of his forecasts.

He writes as an eyewitness and a faithful reporter, free from illusion and prejudice—the conviction of the sinister character of Germany's designs was forced upon him, not inborn or preconceived. Compiled largely from contemporary dispatches, reports, letters, and conversations, his record has much of the quality of an authoritative document.

The peculiar value, however, of his narrative lies not so much in the new information it presents, although at a hundred points it supplements our present knowledge, as in the penetrating insight it reveals, in a certain intuitive feeling for the subjective elements in politics. With unerring touch he puts his finger on the hidden springs of diplomacy. For him the fundamental causes of the war were psychological. Europe had developed a state of mind where confidence and coöperation seemed impossible, and war inevitable. For creating this state of mind Germany was chiefly, though not exclusively, responsible. The Kaiser did not want war, but by ill-advised acts and extravagant utterances he helped foment the war spirit; the philosophic chancellor abhorred it, but did not know how to prevent it; the militarists, the Moltkes and the Tirpitzes, wanted it (though Tirpitz himself would have waited until he had completed his navy), predicted it, prepared for it, and finally, forcing the hand of the Kaiser, precipitated it. But the German people were not entirely guiltless; they approved the end, if not the means, and acquiesced in a policy that could have had but one outcome. This is no new thesis; but, new or old, it receives immense support from the facts and arguments presented in these memoirs.

The other powers were not wholly blameless. Russian policy was not without guile; English diplomacy not always ingenuous; French tactics not free from finesse. But it was Germany, more than any of the others, who was responsible for developing the war psychosis. And why? Because her own mind was poisoned by a fixed idea, that war was "inévitable et prochain". She repeated this formula until it became an obsession.

The capital error of German policy was to have backed Austria-Hungary

through thick and thin. She did not push her; but she gave her free rein, and ended by being compromised by her. But for the fatal decision of July the immediate responsibility rests upon the military clique. It was they who willed the war, determined not to let slip the opportunity, the "favorable moment that might not return" (Moltke).

Whatever brief one may hold, whether for the Central Powers or for the Entente, he can not ignore the challenge of Baron Beyens's argument. It may or may not force revision of accepted judgments; it will certainly compel a reëxamination of the evidence.

Brown University. THEODORE COLLIER.

History of the Great War based on Official Documents. By Direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence. *Naval Operations.* Volume V., *1917 to the Armistice.* By Sir HENRY NEWBOLT. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1931. Pp. xx, 452. Case of Maps. $12.50.)

"WE are carrying on the war—as if we had the absolute command of the sea, whereas we have not such command or anything approaching it. History has shown from time to time the fatal results of basing naval and military strategy on an insecure line of communications. Disaster is certain to follow and our present policy is heading straight for disaster. . . ." Such was Admiral Jellicoe's official description of the naval situation in April, 1917, when the United States entered the war.

This decisive period of the war is the subject of Sir Henry Newbolt's fifth and final volume of review of the naval operations of the war, compiled with access to British admiralty and fleet records under the auspices of the Committee of Imperial Defence of the British government. It requires little speculation to estimate the results of a continuance of Germany's submarine success which was being attained on the eve of America's entrance into the World War.

In considering the stupendous Allied effort required to meet the enemy submarine campaign, the simple fact should not be overlooked that the fundamental and underlying cause was unpreparedness to meet a twentieth century application of the ancient and immutable war principle of surprise. It is difficult to appreciate to-day that the one outstanding naval surprise of the war was the capabilities of the submarine as developed by German mechanical efficiency. Based on pre-war experience, naval opinion viewed the submarine as a thin-skinned war craft of doubtful defensive and offensive power. With modern submarines keeping the high seas with the fleet, it is hard to recall their pre-war uninhabitability and unreliability.

The attention devoted by Newbolt to the adoption of the ancient method of protecting commerce in convoy is merited, as it was the outstanding

decision of the naval war and averted the disaster which Admiral Jellicoe so forcibly foresaw, thereby regaining effective control of the sea, the ultimate objective of all naval war.

The volume also reviews the official records of the other naval operations subsidiary to and in support of the final year's submarine campaign, including the last High Sea venture of the enemy's main fleet, the gallant but historically futile attempt at harbor blocking of submarine bases, and the extensive North Sea mining operations (the account affording little idea of the magnitude of the United States Navy's contribution). The volume closes with a description of history's most dramatic pageant of war, when the major portion of the enemy fleet in excellent formation and outward appearance was met at sea by the Allied fleet (Sir Henry overlooked the presence of a powerful squadron of battleships of the United States Navy) and escorted to an ignominious anchorage for internment as security for a humiliating armistice.

This historical presentation is in no sense intended as a contribution to the critical analysis of the greatest naval war of history which bids fair to pass Trafalgar's centenary of controversy. It is largely a compendium of statements gleaned from the remaining records of High Command decisions with a factual review of their resulting events. In a work of such magnitude, however, it is impossible to avoid the presentation of material in a manner suggesting conclusions, and their resulting lessons.

While it is true that the adoption of the convoy system of ancient lineage broke the crisis which threatened the Allied cause, we must remember many factors, other than the mere control and protection of shipping in convoy, existed, which may or may not exist in the future.

As we know now, the morale of the enemy home country—the cornerstone of all war—was slowly crumbling with its inevitable effect on the fighting personnel. The Allied blockade was straining all enemy resources, including the replacement and upkeep of all forces at sea. The mine menace was growing daily. The effective weapon of propaganda was striking at the hearts of the entire enemy population. What might have happened if the convoy procedure had been the first and not the last anti-submarine measure tried; what might happen in the future with modern submarines, well-found and supported, manned by skilled personnel with high morale, are indeed open questions.

Historical collations of the kind presented by Sir Henry Newbolt are invaluable. No important library is complete without them. But they are merely the basis for future study and research. The deduction of lessons is a prodigious task fraught with the dangers which the advance of the sciences holds for possible future wars. Such is the problem of the naval profession.

Yale University. J. V. Babcock.

Le Sentiment Américain pendant la Guerre. Par J. J. JUSSERAND, Ambassadeur de France, Membre de l'Institut. [Collection de Mémoires, Études, et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale.] (Paris: Payot. 1931. Pp. 157. 15 fr.)

THE historical value of ambassadorial memoirs is generally recognized, and in the case of any written by an artist of so much literary skill as M. Jusserand our expectations are naturally high. They are by no means disappointed, for this book, although small in compass, is on the whole more expressive of American spirit in war time than anything that has been published. Strictly speaking, its title should have been "Pro-French Sentiment in the United States", as the ambassador has not attempted a scientific analysis of opinion in general, probably a hopeless task, nor evaluated in any detail indifferent or pro-German sentiments. Opinion regarding France he was in a position to know and to estimate, and his picture, while impressionistic, is at once informative and vivid. The book is not history so much as the spontaneous memoir of a war-time diplomat. M. Jusserand is not concerned to give us critical and objective conclusions, but to express, almost in war-time phraseology, the popular emotions that carried the Atlantic Coast over to the side of the Allies previous to 1917, and which after our entry into the war brought the whole country to a unified sense that the struggle was a crusade against international criminals. M. Jusserand himself is still convinced that Germany was guilty of launching an aggressive war of conquest, and his conviction gives color to his picture of American emotion in 1917. He is mildly apologetic for our official neutrality until April of that year, and he believes that a negotiated peace would have been criminal since it would have left unpunished those brutally responsible for the war. Like Mr. James M. Beck whom he cites and who, rereading the *Evidence in the Case* published on quite inadequate evidence in 1915, declares in 1931 that he would not change a word, the ambassador is still faithful to the creed of those belligerent days. Historians may marvel at the intensity of that creed but they will be grateful for the brilliance of its expression.

It is important also that they should realize the extent and the fervor of the enthusiasm for France, without which our assistance would have been far less effective. The ambassador retails, as no American could, the importance of the aid given by individuals during the period of neutrality, the stimulation of opinion by popular writers, the gifts of millionaires, the services of volunteers. He underlines the voluntary effort (which Mr. Lloyd George once said seemed to him the most extraordinary of all American achievements in the war) to control food, coal, and gasoline, and rightly derives from this effort of self-denial an estimate of the force of American opinion. He pictures the enthusiasm of Congress, of the crowds listening

to the Allied missions, of the banqueters gathered to celebrate the new lighting system put into the Statue of Liberty. The cynical reader will wonder, perhaps, what of actual measures of interallied coördination, so grievously delayed; but M. Jusserand is writing of opinion rather than accomplishment, and popular enthusiasm, hysterical books, and brass-band banquets created the atmosphere which helped to make accomplishment possible. Nor can the historian withhold his admiration for the skill with which the ambassador prevented overzealous Frenchmen from pushing a cause that flourished without effort, while German propaganda killed itself through an excess of badly directed energy.

The book is not designed to be a history of official Franco-American relations, and except as it gives the feelings of the author it has little value in this sense. M. Jusserand's opinions are of importance, for he was French ambassador. His statements of fact are not always exact. It is not fair to General Bliss to class him with General Pershing as opposed to granting an armistice to Germany. On the contrary, Bliss put forward a compelling argument to the effect that an armistice could not be refused, but that it must deprive Germany of power again to take up arms. M. Jusserand's explanation of the origin of the Fourteen Points is curiously mistaken. President Wilson did not draft them "in view of the refusal of the enemy to define clearly war aims and in fear lest some one else should beat him to this goal". He wrote the speech of the Fourteen Points primarily as a reply to the Russian demand for the crystallization of war aims and only after Colonel House had found it impossible to persuade the Supreme War Council to agree upon a formula; Wilson's original hope had been to secure a statement endorsed by all the Allies. M. Jusserand also makes the same error as the biographer of Spring-Rice, when, after citing his early judgment that the Senate would be slow to accept a League of Nations, he justifies his prophecy by the event. In the spring of 1920 far more than the necessary two-thirds of the senators were ready to vote for American entrance into the League under the inconsequential Lodge reservations. It was the order that went from President Wilson to the Democrats not to accept those reservations which determined their votes, and even with pro-League Wilsonites voting against the Covenant the motion to adopt lacked only seven votes of the two-thirds. If the President on this occasion had followed the advice of his wisest counselors, accepting the Lodge reservations, the prophecies of senatorial recalcitrance would have been belied.

Yale University. CHARLES SEYMOUR.

My Experiences in the World War. By JOHN J. PERSHING, Commander-in-Chief, American Expeditionary Forces. Two volumes. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1931. Pp. xvi, 400; xii, 436. $10.00.)

GENERAL PERSHING'S two volumes begin with his summons to command while at San Antonio and end, rather abruptly, with the armistice. As a contribution to history they are in every way disappointing, although of real value as a record of the author's personal attitude.

The conflict with the Allies for an independent command, which forms the main theme, is in 1931 a more familiar story than the author realizes; but his opening chapters cast new light on its origins. On arriving at Washington, Pershing found the War Department not only unprepared but undecided as to its military policy. No clear statement of his mission in France was given him, and in his one meeting with the President the matter was not mentioned:

I had naturally thought that he would say something about the part our Army should play in the war in coöperation with the Allies, but he said nothing.

When he sailed for France he knew only that the War Department had as yet no intention of effective military participation. General Bliss wrote at that time:

General Pershing's expedition is being sent abroad on the urgent insistence of Marshal Joffre and the French Mission that a force, however small, be sent to produce a *moral effect.* We have yielded to this view and a force is being sent *solely to produce a moral effect.* . . . Our General Staff had made no plan (so far as is known to the Secretary of War) for prompt dispatch of reënforcements to General Pershing, nor the prompt dispatch of considerable forces to France. . . . They [the French] evidently think that having yielded to the demand for a small force for *moral effect,* it is soon to be followed by a large force for *physical* effect. Thus far we have no plans for this.

General Pershing notes that the French and British assumed "that we would be unable within a reasonable time to build up a separate army capable of operating independently". It is clear that they were in strict conformity with the War Department's position in doing so, but from the very outset he credited them with a sinister motive:

. . . it was suspected that this was not the only reason and that the Allies were not keen for us to have an independent combat army. There was certainly a sentiment among them in some quarters that while our entry in the war was necessary to bring victory, we had come in late and therefore could not expect much credit for what we should do. . . . Our belief in the existence of such an attitude on the part of the Allies naturally stirred in our minds a feeling of distrust, which was emphasized by their later efforts to dominate, and which, therefore, continued to be a factor in all our relations up to the end.

This distrust forms the basic factor in General Pershing's narrative; and from this triple handicap he was to approach the difficult task before him—having no clear straightforward statement of his own mission, suspecting in advance that his Allies were prepared to thwart him, and for almost a year quite uncertain as to how far his own government intended to take part in the battle. "It was depressing to think", he notes later on, "that ten months had elapsed since our entry into the war and we were just barely ready with one division of 25,000 men." Had an American army been on the scene, even the worst designs of the Allies would not have violated its independence; it was the absence of any, the failure to produce the army promised him, that delivered Pershing into such sharp conflicts with the Allied governments. He needed no foreign approval for organizing an independent command, for selecting and training the army staff which was the necessary instrument of his authority. His delay in doing so remains a mystery as before, but his book makes clear that Foch for one was not responsible. On July 10 Foch urged bringing an American army into line "at the earliest possible date"; he suggested the end of July. It was impossible to take up the proposal; as yet there was no Army H.Q. in existence, even on paper. Not until exactly a month later, fourteen months after Pershing reached France, did the 1st Army H.Q. begin assembling; and only after another month was this army ready.

The sharp hostility to the War Department will surprise most readers. Mr. Baker's loyal support is warmly acknowledged, and the Baker-Pershing correspondence is the most interesting new material which the book offers. But Mr. Baker's department is treated with relentless criticism, in a temper of peculiarly grim vindictiveness, with no allowance for the difficulties of the task, and no word of recognition of what the department accomplished. Hostile critics of the administration will quote effectively General Pershing as an authority, but it is obviously only one side of the story. By the same methods the other side could no doubt be made equally telling.

A brief and very noncommittal diary serves as a skeleton for the narrative, the events recorded day by day being amplified by recollection or comment. The resulting text is divided up into chapters of about fifteen pages, but there is little or no arrangement of subject matter; in a single chapter a wide variety of topics often follow one upon the other without transition. The reader is given a glance at everything only to be pulled away without seeing it, and the fault is by no means one of literary composition. As in so many official reports of the war-time period the text moves rapidly over the surface of the subject as if to escape from, rather than deal with, the essential matter: taking up points of substance only to elude them by swift generalizations, omissions, sweeping claims, or well-rounded covering statements. No little skill is shown in this protective treatment of thorny

topics; for example, the crisis in the affairs of the S.O.S. is discussed at some length without disclosing in the least what happened. The result is a carefully defensive narrative; and in the end the real problems faced in France, the real results achieved, have not been set before the reader.

These faults are particularly marked in the chapters dealing with military operations, which may fairly be termed a negative contribution to the subject. The Meuse-Argonne emerges in a thoroughly rationalized version; and in the effort to keep everything French out of the picture and present a purely American triumph, the real strategical achievement of our operation is passed over. A mixture of controversy and apologia is a familiar resource for dealing with failures; General Pershing succeeded in his task, and a quite different treatment was called for. The A.E.F. deserves a better memorial; and in its distrustful aloofness the book is curiously remote and alien from the spirit with which the country took up and carried through its great undertaking.

Cambridge. T. H. Thomas.

The End of the Russian Empire. By Michael T. Florinsky, Lecturer in Economic History, Columbia University. [Economic and Social History of the World War, Russian Series, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xvi, 272. $3.00.)

Lenin, Red Dictator. By George Vernadsky, Research Associate in History in Yale University. Translated from the Russian by Malcolm Waters Davis. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. 351. $3.00.)

Lenin. By D. S. Mirsky. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1931. Pp. xi, 236. $2.50.)

The Last Stand: an Interpretation of the Soviet Five-Year Plan. By Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., Ph.D. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1931. Pp. xi, 348. $3.00.)

The Economic Life of Soviet Russia. By Calvin B. Hoover, Ph.D., Professor of Economics, Duke University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 361. $3.00.)

Making Bolsheviks. By Samuel N. Harper, the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. xix, 167. $2.00.)

The purpose of this review, brief as it must be, is to call attention to the value for historians of the publications listed above. Manifestly the books by Dr. Florinsky, Dr. Vernadsky, and Prince Mirsky have greater historical value because they deal with events and characters which have

passed from the scene, while those of Father Walsh, Professor Hoover, and Professor Harper portray existing conditions. But even then, until the archives are thoroughly explored and time lends perspective, it is not possible to write with the confidence and wisdom of a maturer judgment in regard to the earlier period.

Dr. Florinsky, associate editor of the eleven volumes of the Russian series of the Economic and Social History of the World War, has synthesized the results of the work of the various Russian scholars who contributed to the series and has added the conclusions of his own analysis of the period covering the critical years from 1914 to 1917. As a consequence the account presented is the best and most scholarly work on the causes of the Russian Revolution that has thus far appeared in any language. Separate chapters are devoted to the situation just before the war, the immediate effects of the war, the fall of the dynasty, the failure of the bureaucracy, the Duma, the middle class, the industrial classes, the peasantry, the army, and the provisional government. It is to be regretted that a chapter was not given to Russia's foreign policy. Although an émigré, Dr. Florinsky has produced an eminently fair and level-headed analysis of a highly complicated period, emerging with the conclusion that the collapse of the Russian state was due to many factors each of which contributed its share.

The authors of the two books on Lenin are likewise émigrés. Dr. Vernadsky is associate in history in Yale University, while Prince Mirsky has been lecturer in the School of Slavonic Studies, King's College, the University of London. The former offers a careful and reserved historical account of Lenin's significance in Russian history, the latter stresses the development and philosophical implications of that mixture of Marxist theory and Leninist practice which has come to be known as Leninism. Dr. Vernadsky, while scholarly and objective on the whole, has written from a point of view essentially adverse to Lenin. His conclusions are skeptical as to the success of the state that Lenin created and upon which the future rôle of Leninism will depend. Prince Mirsky has recently become a convert of Leninism—not only of its Russian aspects, but also of its international implications. Both should prove useful to historians, the former being the best single account we have of the historical Lenin, the latter the most useful analysis of the "system"—Leninism—which he created.

Father Walsh's book, written frankly, and ably too, from a point of view hostile to the Bolsheviks, analyzes the chief internal and international features of the Five Year Plan. He comes to the conclusion that the "American Plan", based on an entirely different set of ideals, is not only superior but can be safeguarded by a thorough understanding of the Russian problem. Professor Hoover offers a carefully worked out description of the

economic machinery of the Soviet Union. In spite of the fact that he believes a plebiscite would result in a majority of the population voting in favor of the return of the old czarist régime, he feels that the Soviet Union will survive the crisis of the Five Year Plan and give a decided impetus to the World Revolution, unless capitalism can solve its insistent problems.

In his volume of lectures, Professor Harper has continued his excellent and even-tempered description of Russian conditions by a portrayal of the various types of Soviet workers upon whose shoulders will rest the task of bringing the existing crisis to a successful conclusion. In turn the party worker, the young communist, the shock brigade workman, the collectivist peasant, the cultural worker, and the Red Army worker are described, this time with greater boldness and precision. "The new social order", writes Professor Harper, "is still in the process of being built, and it has not yet proven that it can produce and distribute efficiently or even keep up the general standards of living. It is too early to say whether the many evident failures are 'infantile diseases' or inherent constitutional weaknesses in the Soviet system as a whole." On the other hand, he continues, "there is a faith and a spirit" in the militant *cadres* thus described and "there is no question that Moscow will give substantial assistance, material as well as moral, to any social revolution that breaks out in any part of the world".

The University of California. ROBERT J. KERNER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Vinland Voyages. By MATTHIAS THÓRDARSON, Director, National Museum of Iceland. Translated by THORSTINA JACKSON WALTERS. With an Introduction by VILHJÁLMUR STEFÁNSSON. [American Geographical Society, Research Series, no. 18, edited by Halldór Hermannsson.] (New York: American Geographical Society. 1930. Pp. xv, 76. $2.00.)

Leif Eriksson, Discoverer of America, A. D. 1003. By EDWARD F. GRAY. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. xxxii, 188. $7.50.)

Narratives of the Discovery of America. Edited by A. W. LAWRENCE and JEAN YOUNG. (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 1931. Pp. xiii, 300. $3.00.)

Tudor Geography, 1485-1583. By E. G. R. TAYLOR, D.Sc., F.R.G.S., Professor of Geography in the University of London. (London: Methuen and Company. 1930. Pp. ix, 290. 15s.)

THE *Vinland Voyages,* by Thórdarson, is a very brief summary of the story of Norse discovery and attempted settlements in what we may properly call the New World. The version as found in Hauk's Book seems to

have been considered the most acceptable, and yet the reader is left with a very unsatisfactory impression of the author's opinion as to the localities visited by the Norsemen. We have here a short, and in the main a readable, account, but we are carried little or no further toward a solution of the supposed visits of the Norsemen to any part of the American continent.

In Gray's *Leif Eriksson* we find a much more detailed consideration of the Norse records than in the preceding book. Gray has a preference for the account as set down in the Flatey Book, and through a careful consideration, especially of this version, and of other early versions, he has settled beyond further dispute, as he believes, the locality of their discoveries and settlements along the Atlantic coast. Space will not permit here a detailed reference to his many interesting statements.

A considerable part of his book is given over to a consideration of the Vinland Voyages in Modern Setting wherein we find it definitely asserted that the present No Man's Land, off the coast of Martha's Vineyard, is the identical spot where Leif built his house in the Vinland of the Norse sagas, a fact which he thinks is especially attested by the recent discovery there of a runic inscription, but which inscription other American investigators consider to be a rather modern forgery. Although Mr. Gray would seem at times to impress us with his thought that he has settled absolutely the disputed points, or some of them, concerning the Norse discoveries, it is yet very certain that many of the problems connected therewith will long remain in question. He gives a brief and interesting summary in his Who's Who in Vinland as he calls it; also in his Genealogies of Vinland Explorers. He reprints Mr. Reeves's translation of the sagas, and adds a good reference to some of the most important books of *The Vinland Voyages*.

The *Narratives of the Discovery of America* which we find in the third volume noted above, are presented "in a form available to the general reader", say the editors. This statement appears in the nature of a defense for the issue, which adds little or nothing that can be considered a contribution to our better understanding of the several documents cited, their origin and their reliability. The so-called Columbus Journal claims a major part of the book, but the editors do well in making it plain that we have this Journal as Las Casas presents it and not from a known Columbus manuscript.

The intelligent reader will turn the pages of this well printed book feeling that he does not get the half of the story but what he gets is well presented, and perhaps the editors intended it thus, thinking their incomplete presentation would awaken further interest. The critical student will find the book of comparatively little value.

In *Tudor Geography*, Professor Taylor presents a very remarkable con-

tribution to the history of geographical thought, of which contributions we have all too few. It is a special section of that history which is here treated, and the plan for its presentation as conceived by the author is to be heartily commended. England was then beginning to think geographically as never before. Continental influences which had greatly contributed to this awakening interest receive a genuinely scholarly consideration. The field of historical geography is indeed a broad one, in which field there is to-day an increasing interest. After similar pieces of work are equally well done in other Continental lands we shall have an excellent basis for a general treatment of the progress of geographical thought.

Professor Taylor presents, as a foundation for this study, a detailed bibliography of all English writings in manuscript or in print within the period, which a diligent search has enabled her to bring to light. The list is submitted in an appendix, and much of it is especially commented upon in chapters I. and II. Among the very interesting documents discussed may first be mentioned Roger Barlow's *Geographia,* a document but little known, yet one which the author thinks entitles him to be considered the first English systematic geographer; then there is full consideration, for the first time, of Jean Rotze's meridional compass, an instrument of great service in navigation, and an added chapter on practical surveying and navigation in the sixteenth century; a chapter on French influence in England; three chapters on John Dee with detailed consideration of his influence on such explorers as Frobisher, Drake, Gilbert, and others. That Dee was a serious geographer is interestingly emphasized through a citation of the nature and contents of his library. This is a book for the serious student.

Hispanic Society of America. E. L. Stevenson.

Essays in Colonial History. Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xiii, 345. $5.00.)

Over thirty years ago Professor Andrews read a signal paper designed to point out that our colonial history can not be fully known when interpreted only in provincial terms. Through the years that followed he has given steadily of his time and power to the task of raising that history, once mutilated by half-knowledge and passion, to the level of a broad, tolerant, and sane treatment. While he was mindful of the fact that the colonies were products of distinctly local forces, his vision was broad enough to discern their English connections and their contacts in the whole Atlantic basin. His books and articles have set colonial history in a new light and a new life. His students have carried forward creative scholarship in the field. The efficient guides he fashioned have blazed the way for the student to know and to use the scattered and undeveloped mass of sources bearing

on the colonial era. He has given generously of his time and profound knowledge of the field to all who called on him for counsel and criticism. His recent appeal to our people "to exhibit honesty, charity, openmindedness, and a free and growing intelligence toward the past that has made them what they are", is being gradually answered by the results of his own fine leadership and significant contributions. This book of essays is a gracious tribute to Professor Andrews as he retires from a long career of active teaching.

Mr. Pitman analyzes the heavy investment of capital in the sugar islands and makes clear that profits fell chiefly into the lap of a small group of large planters who dominated the economic life and whose immense wealth gave the West Indies "the character of great material achievement", while the lot of the many small planters was hard. Mr. Gipson reaches the conclusion that the people of Connecticut bore with decided reluctance levies of taxation relatively moderate in amount. Mr. Labaree refutes the usual charge that the governors of royal provinces were an inferior lot of men. That there were some of this sort is not denied; but the more striking fact is that "men of good family, of education, and of real ability were in a distinct majority". Mr. Lounsbury depicts the career of Jonathan Belcher, jr., as governor of Nova Scotia, who, although colonial born and educated, was unfitted by temperament to be a successful executive of a frontier colony. Miss Calder tells of the brief and futile efforts of the Earl of Stirling to colonize Long Island, and Mr. Gould explains the rise of Baltimore as a port of exchange in terms of expansion of settlement and a growing demand for grain products. Miss Barnes studies the feudal land principles which run through the colonial charters and the forces modifying these principles as applied to American lands. Mr. Rife explains the varied types of land tenure and settlement in New Netherland and presents a good picture of the patroonship of Rensselaerswyck. Miss Mary P. Clarke shows that the colonial assemblies used English history to advantage. With English precedent to point the way, profiting by the example of neighboring assemblies, fortified by their own experience, these local representative bodies gathered to themselves the powers and privileges of the "mother of parliaments". Mr. Bond sets forth the view that democracy was not solely the product of the frontier, but that the liberal principles for which men strove in colonial and Revolutionary days were carried to fuller fruition by those who left the old East to settle the old Northwest. Mr. Pargellis relates the tragic history of the independent companies of soldiers in New York, revealing peculation and incompetence in British officialdom and British indifference to the problems of frontier defense. Miss Dora M. Clark describes the part played by the impressment of seamen in the colonies in arousing resentment against British rule.

These twelve essays are valuable for the light they turn on phases and corners of colonial history where light was needed. They are products of careful research and sound judgment, buttressed by an exhaustive use of source material. The scholarly character of the studies is not to be denied, the literary quality in general leaves something to be desired.

The State University of Iowa. W. T. Root.

The Story of Religions in America. By William Warren Sweet, University of Chicago. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1931. Pp. vii, 571. $4.00.)

In this book Professor Sweet has undoubtedly given us the best single volume on the subject. The appealing title, the make-up of the book, without burdensome footnotes and with well chosen illustrations, the vigorous style which holds the attention of the reader throughout a narrative which is encyclopedic in its scope, will give *The Story of Religions in America* a wide acceptance. These undoubtedly popular aspects are reenforced by sound scholarship, and the book reflects the author's wide acquaintance with the sources of American Church history. No writer is more familiar with what Professor Jameson has called the American *Acta Sanctorum* than Professor Sweet. Perhaps we may regard *The Story of Religions in America* as a sort of popular introduction to the volumes of source materials on frontier religions which are being prepared under his direction, the first of which, entitled *The Baptists,* has already appeared.

The Story of Religions in America is written from an impartial and unsectarian point of view. No denomination is slighted and due regard is paid to the religious leaders of each generation. The principal purpose of the author is to give unity to the story and to discover the common threads running through the history of religious denominations. These threads he finds in (1) religious radicalism, (2) the influence of the Westward movement, (3) the effects of negro slavery, (4) revivalism with its peculiar technique of soul-winning, (5) the parallels between political and religious history.

Professor Sweet's book should remove any doubts from the minds of those who are skeptical as to the place of religious forces in our national development. If the book emphasizes one thesis beyond any other it is that "the parallels between American political and religious history are both numerous and striking". Thus Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Catholics, and other groups were confronted with the problem of making their constitutions in the period from 1784 to 1800. The churches as well as the nation had to meet the problem of coöperation in the era of great national expansion. Schisms and secessions in the churches paralleled the numerous state rights movements in the nation at large. Slavery rent the

denominations as it divided parties and split the nation. In the period of Reconstruction the influence of the churches in politics was considerable, nor did they escape the evil forces which stigmatized the politics of the time. The churches adjusted themselves to the "Age of Big Business" and made alliances with wealth. Finally, the dismal failure of the Interchurch World Movement in the post-war period is but a reflection of the failure of internationalism.

A serviceable bibliography arranged by chapters supplements the book, while a summary of the religious census of 1926 constitutes a valuable appendix. Both the text and the bibliography are not without a few obvious typographical errors which, doubtless, will be corrected in the second edition. These slips should not be allowed to obscure the real merits of the volume.

American University. W. M. GEWEHR.

An Economic History of the United States. By EDWARD FRANK HUMPHREY, Northam Professor of History and Political Science in Trinity College, Hartford. [The Century Historical Series.] (New York: Century Company. 1931. Pp. ix, 639. $3.75.)

"A distinctly new system of human relations has been produced—chiefly through the agency of the New World—which rests upon a foundation of science and industry, whereas all previous societies have had either agricultural or handicraft commerce as their economic bases. The United States is the leading exponent of this new civilization." Such is the underlying thesis which Professor Humphrey consistently defends. He divides his supporting evidence into five major parts: The Agricultural Era, 1492–1819; America's Modification of the Agricultural Age, 1819–1860; Origins of Big Business, 1860–1900; Commercialism, 1900–1914; International Domination, 1914–1931. Even if one accepts the author's categories, it seems clear that their chronological sequence can not be so precisely fixed. Slightly more than half of the volume is devoted to the continuing acceleration in the tempo of the nation's economic life since the outbreak of the Civil War, with particular emphasis upon the readjustments following the World War which have so vividly revealed the integration of the entire world into a single great business unit. The closing chapters on the "dynamic decade", presenting an interesting picture of the position of the United States in the economic organization of the world, are among the most effective in the book.

While a topical arrangement is used throughout the text, the period of time covered by most of the chapters, except in part I., is so brief that the reader is conscious of "jumping" from one topic to another with disconcerting frequency. For example, in order to trace the development of railroad

transportation during the last sixty years, one must consult eight separated chapters or parts of chapters, with the result that it is difficult to keep the continuity of the story of the railroads in mind. The student will probably find the same difficulty in mastering the arrangement of material dealing with such subjects as the labor movement, business consolidation, and financial problems. Brevity is obviously essential in a volume which limits the economic history of the United States within six hundred short pages, yet some of the topics in the present work seem to suffer from a false economy of words. The westward movement of population and the economic influence of the frontier are fundamental factors which should have received a fuller explanation. Likewise, the significance of the agrarian revolution, the effect upon industry and commerce of tariff legislation, and the more recent tendencies in the labor movement are minimized, apparently because of the author's concern for concise statement. Occasionally the content of a chapter does not fulfill the promise of the title. In the section on Small-business Organization, for instance, only one short paragraph is devoted to the emergence of the corporate form of industrial organization.

Despite these shortcomings, some of which may be merely prejudices of the reviewer, Professor Humphrey's work possesses considerable merit. Few, if any, important factors in our economic history are omitted, and every topic is discussed in the light of the most authoritative secondary material, wherever primary sources have not been used. The volume is singularly free from those sweeping generalizations which often mar college textbooks. The author is content to describe rather than to judge, a commendable attitude on the part of anyone presenting historical material to thoughtful students whose work is guided by competent instructors. Although the bibliographies at the close of each chapter are far from exhaustive, they include good lists of important monographs published within the last decade. The typographical errors are not numerous, but a surprising proportion occur in the bibliographical references.

Columbia University. JOHN A. KROUT.

The Virginia Campaign and the Blockade and Siege of Yorktown, 1781, including a Brief Narrative of the French Participation in the Revolution prior to the Southern Campaign. By Colonel H. L. LANDERS, F.A., Historical Section, Army War College. [Senate Document, no. 273, 71st Congress, 3d Session.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1931. Pp. vii, 219. $1.75.)

The Story of the Campaign and Siege of Yorktown. By H. J. ECKENRODE. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1931. Pp. v, 54. 25 cents.)

Official Guidebook of the Yorktown Sesquicentennial Celebration, October 16–19, 1931. Prepared by H. J. Eckenrode and Bryan Conrad. [Published by the Virginia Yorktown Sesquicentennial Commission.] (Richmond: the Commission. 1931. Pp. 55. 25 cents.)

Journal of the Siege of York-town. Unpublished Journal of the Siege of York-town in 1781 operated by the General Staff of the French Army, as recorded in the hand of Gaspard de Gallatin and translated by the French department of the College of William and Mary. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1931. Pp. iv, 48. 15 cents.)

Here are some of the better of the official publications incident to the recent Yorktown Sesquicentennial. In 1881, the Yorktown Centennial produced H. P. Johnston's *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis,* a substantial work which covered in satisfactory fashion the sources then available. It is extremely significant that during the recent Sesquicentennial, in October, 1931, it was possible to buy, at the old custom house in Yorktown, a new edition of Johnston's book, with the added imprint, "Special edition for Comte de Grasse Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Yorktown, Virginia". The Daughters and the publisher are to be commended for their good sense in making this book once more available.

Colonel Landers, of the Historical Section at the Army War College, was accorded the exceptional opportunity of producing a book for the Sesquicentennial, comparable to Johnston's book of fifty years ago. Instead of evaluating and interpreting the vast amount of manuscript material on Yorktown, which has come to light in the past fifty years, Colonel Landers contented himself with a reëxamination of the old, or oft-exploited printed sources and secondary works. While the volume is an excellent eulogy of Lafayette (which appears to be its central theme) it fails to take into consideration the fact that modern investigators in this field have long since given over the encomiums on the Marquis, on Rochambeau, and on Grasse. They have placed the name of Caron de Beaumarchais in the forefront of Frenchmen who contributed to the independence of the United States.

While Colonel Landers's work is an acceptable compilation of episodes in Revolutionary history, it is to be regretted that he cites without qualification such an exploded myth as the Mecklenburg Declaration. As to style, the narrative which is a mosaic of quotations, has its uses, but it would be more permanently valuable if the author had authenticated the sources of those quotations. Illustrations in a book of this character may be important reproductions of source material, but they lose their point when

the author has failed to give a single line to demonstrate their historical veracity. In such a story as that of Yorktown, the redrawing of old maps by modern engineers may be a real contribution, but it is a pity to lose the opportunity of discussing the possibilities of manuscript maps of Yorktown made by contemporary engineers. Bibliographies are useful in works of this character, but in this case what was needed was a survey of recently recovered manuscripts and not a check list of familiar printed titles. Doubtless Colonel Landers intended to produce only a popular and journalistic account, but Senator Hiram Bingham, whose own contributions to history are not inconsiderable, and who is familiar with the demands of critical scholarship, might have done far worse than to encourage the Colonel to produce a definitive work, which would have been of lasting credit to the Army War College.

As a purely popular presentation, Mr. Eckenrode's *brochure* is more to the point. It is a well arranged narrative of the traditional story, and has the additional merit of reproducing two maps well worthy of popularization. Both Colonel Landers's and Mr. Eckenrode's productions are the work of the Government Printing Office. In this matter, Mr. Eckenrode scores again, because his format makes some effort to follow (what it ought to follow) the style of William Parks, the greatest American colonial printer, whose press was within twenty miles of Yorktown. It is hardly Mr. Eckenrode's fault if the Government Printing Office typographers are not sufficiently expert to avoid an egregious anachronism in their choice of type-face.

The handbook by Mr. Eckenrode and Colonel Bryan Conrad is a compilation, with a readable introduction and extracts from contemporary accounts of Yorktown which give numerous versions of the different events. Anyone who used this handbook at Yorktown could get a real flavor with what he saw. The documents should be permanently useful in this form. But the authors owe no thanks to the "Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army", which, beneath the approving signatures of Captain H. B. Vaughan and Colonel H. B. Ferguson, have produced a map which is an effort to imitate the illuminated and illustrated maps of an earlier day. Blaeu, Visscher, or Jansson would have writhed in anguish at the sight of land features being elsewhere than on the land and water features elsewhere than on the water. As it is, the "Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army" have left the Moore House and the Nelson House floating in the middle of the York River, while the countenance of George Washington rises like that of a sea serpent from the upper reaches of the same estuary. On the other hand, the United States Geological Survey has issued a really creditable map of the "Yorktown Battlefield" by K. W. Trimble and others.

Gallatin's *Journal* is another of the numerous "journals of the siege of

York" by French officers, which have been coming to light in recent years. It is real historical news, the credit for the discovery of which belongs to Mr. Warrington Dawson of the Williamsburg group. It has a most satisfying prefatory note by the indefatigable Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin, of Bruton Parish Church, which tells the reader precisely what he wants to know about the provenance and significance of this journal.

The big canvas of the Yorktown story still awaits its artist. Meantime, this Sesquicentennial has raised many moot points which ought to bring some definite statement from the Virginia historians and from those of the army. For example, none of the above volumes has anything definite or final to say about just how many troops Washington had before Yorktown, while recently discovered manuscripts might lead one to believe that in the main we have heretofore underestimated Washington's strength by one half. Then again, there is the moot point of whether the French or the Americans were on the east of the lines at the surrender itself. The Director of the Pageant at Yorktown, Mr. Thomas Wood Stevens, studied various sources, and then adopted the formation shown in the Trumbull painting. But more work needs to be done on points like this, because when a witness uses the expressions "right-hand" and "left-hand", much depends on the way he is facing.

In conclusion a word should be said in regret of the fact that the *Review* has no section in which to comment upon Mr. Stevens's historical pageant of the Surrender. It is not too much to say that no more ambitious, nor more successful, nor more historically accurate pageant has been undertaken so far in this country. Considering the historical pageant as a method of the representation of history, it opens up a new phase in the development of American dramatics.

The William L. Clements Library. RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

Jacobin and Junto, or Early American Politics as viewed in the Diary of Dr. Nathaniel Ames, 1758–1822. By CHARLES WARREN. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1931. Pp. 324. $3.50.)

EXTRACTS from Nathaniel Ames's diary form only a small portion of the contents of this volume, for many contemporary sources are drawn upon and cemented together topically by Mr. Warren's comments. The diary seems at times to have been hardly more than the source of the suggestion that these contemporary utterances be collected, and without the additional matter the extracts from it would often be almost unintelligible.

The book portrays the attitudes of rival partisans during the era when party lines were determined largely according to men's sympathies with one or the other of the European belligerents, England and France. It is less a critical interpretation than an exhibition, by means of their own utter-

ances, of the psychology of Americans during the formative period of the nation.

Nathaniel Ames, the diarist about whose comments this book is built, was a Harvard graduate of 1761; he practiced medicine, farmed, and filled petty offices in his home at Dedham, Massachusetts. He was a type of the intelligent New Englander who followed Jefferson's lead, and was thus, in the language of his political foes, a "Jacobin". Contrasting with Dr. Ames in almost every respect was his younger brother Fisher, far-famed as an orator, and recognized as a member of the influential group of Federalists called the "Junto". The antagonism of "Jacobin and Junto" was epitomized in the relations of these brothers.

Along with the liberal tendencies which have been the boast of Americans, the first generation under the Constitution exhibited almost incredible narrowness. Of this fact the present volume affords only too ample evidence. Partisanship warped men's judgment on every question, affecting social relations adversely, impeding business intercourse, coloring public opinion in trials of criminals, and marring clerical ministrations. In religion a contentious spirit was so prevalent that when a new minister was installed at Dedham in 1803, the remark seemed called for that "no indecent behaviour occurred"!

Dr. Ames's notes on politics reflect the prejudices of his era. He was, moreover, a clever coiner of words and phrases, dubbing the Federalists the "Prigarchy" and "Fudderalists". The dominant influence of lawyers (a class which he detested) he designated as the "Pettifogarchy". The "Cod Fish Aristocracy", he called "Lobster Princes". But his humor was never genial; the acrid oil of partisanship destroyed the finer sentiments of its victims. Nowhere is this fact more painfully evident than in the references to Fisher Ames's funeral obsequies. In the plans of the Federalists to hold the services for their dead leader in Boston instead of Dedham, Dr. Ames could see nothing but a political maneuver. He was thus betrayed into an account of the last rites honoring his brother in terms which offend modern ideas of delicacy.

The present volume contains much valuable matter for politico-social history. It is not indexed.

The Ohio State University. HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era. By KATHLEEN BRUCE, Ph.D., Professor of History in the College of William and Mary. [Published for the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1931. Pp. xiii, 482. $4.50.)

OF late years economic historians have presented in a new light the agrarian system of the Old South with its political and social implications,

but the equally significant undercurrents of manufacturing have not received their share of emphasis. The present monograph goes to the heart of the problem of Southern industry by a searching study of that branch of manufacturing that has ever played a leading rôle in industrial evolution. The author's main thesis, which her array of facts proves conclusively for Virginia, is that a vigorous minority in the *ante bellum* South was asserting the fundamental importance of manufacturing to the predominant agricultural régime, and that the accomplishments of the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond before 1860 and during the Civil War in sustaining the Confederacy are ample evidence of the essential ability of Southern industrialists. The author's chief sources are the Tredegar MSS., 1840–1865, official manuscripts of the state of Virginia, official printed documents, and Richmond newspapers, 1830–1860. Unfortunately only a few transcripts of manuscripts in the McCormick Library in Chicago were used.

"The book attempts . . . to look at iron manufacture in Virginia . . . historically rather than technically" (p. vii). After a recital of ironmaking during the colonial period the author gives a lively account of activity during the Revolution (ch. XI.) which stimulated the industry, excessively perhaps, although its collapse after the war is attributed chiefly to an inflated currency (p. 78). A discussion of the coal trade, the iron, and other industries before 1840 (chs. III.-IV.) affords an enlightening background for the heart of the story—the rise and expansion of the Tredegar works under the genius of Joseph Reid Anderson and their indispensable service in supplying the Confederacy with ordnance and equipment throughout the war. Indeed, the author believes that the location of the Tredegar very probably determined the removal of the Confederate capital from Montgomery to Richmond. In the account of the young industries developing in Virginia by 1840, and the interest of these capitalists in internal improvements and a protective tariff, the reader catches something of the spirit of that minority which endeavored to combine manufacturing with improved agriculture for the economic advancement of the South. Political aspects are also touched upon with the contention that the Whig party was "more notable perhaps as the party of the industrialists than as the party of the planters" (p. 261).

As the title of the book implies, slave labor was a significant factor in manufacturing as well as in agriculture. The author shows conclusively (ch. VI.) that negroes could be trained to perform as satisfactorily as whites most of the work requiring skill, and in some respects the former were preferred. A strike of the skilled white workers at the Tredegar in 1847, because they feared that trained slaves would usurp their jobs, convinced Anderson "that all iron establishments in a slave state must come to the employment of slaves" (p. 235). Slave rather than free labor was

used, it is stated, to reduce this item of cost; but does not the fact that Anderson hired many more negroes than he purchased (p. 246) seem to indicate that he found slavery in the form of ownership less profitable than as hired labor? The author is sure "that there was a considerable saving between 1842 and 1853, when the value of slaves remained relatively low" (p. 244), but to what extent the saving was due to hired labor is left an open question.

Changes in technique are among the most significant factors in industrial history and can not well be disregarded in any historical treatment of the iron industry. While attention is called to the increase in size of the Valley furnaces, the introduction of puddling, and the adoption of mineral coal in the North to the disadvantage of Southern charcoal ironmaking, a discussion of the economy of charcoal furnace operation and the technical problems of the Virginia ironmaster would have served to interpret some of his daily computations of debits and credits. Such a discussion would doubtless go far to explain why Virginia's production of pig iron decreased during 1850–1860 (p. 321). Most interesting and commendable are the chapters on the Tredegar and the master of the Tredegar, written with an unbiased enthusiasm and an imaginative touch that have produced a very readable narrative. The author declares that "Joseph Anderson was the Tredegar Iron Works" (p. 229), and her animated account of his efficient management of the works under stress of war goes far to substantiate her emphasis upon the personal equation which many economic historians are wont to minimize.

The University of Virginia. LESTER J. CAPPON.

Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, 1798–1817. Edited by DUMAS MALONE, sometime Richmond Alumni Professor of History in the University of Virginia. Translations by LINWOOD LEHMAN, Associate Professor of Romanic Languages in the University of Virginia. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. Pp. xxv, 210. $4.00.)

The Correspondence of Jefferson and Du Pont de Nemours. With an Introduction on Jefferson and the Physiocrats, by GILBERT CHINARD, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University. [The Johns Hopkins Studies in International Thought.] (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press. 1931. Pp. cxxiii, 293. $7.50.)

THOMAS JEFFERSON made the acquaintance of Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours while minister to France, and at once became attracted to the cultured, liberal Frenchman. When he returned to the United States a correspondence began which lasted two decades, and covered a wide range

of topics—political, educational, economic, philosophical. Although these letters contain rich material for the American historian, only those from Jefferson's pen have hitherto been published. For more than a century Du Pont's replies remained in manuscript form. Now, within the space of a few months, the entire correspondence is published twice, in one volume edited by Dr. Malone, and in another edited by Professor Chinard.

Although this duplication is in a sense unfortunate, it is not without its advantages. Professor Chinard gives the Du Pont letters in the original French; in the volume edited by Dr. Malone they have been carefully translated by Professor Linwood Lehman, of the University of Virginia. Dr. Malone has a brief introduction of thirteen pages, while Professor Chinard gives us an introduction of 115 pages, embracing a short sketch of the life of Du Pont, and a discussion of the various topics treated by the correspondents—the Louisiana Purchase, agriculture, industry, education, democracy, imperialism, national defense, etc. Careful students of American history will find it profitable to consult both volumes.

The letters relating to the Louisiana Purchase are especially important. Jefferson asked Du Pont to use his "good offices" in behalf of a satisfactory settlement, and the latter entered actively into the negotiations as an unofficial envoy. Dr. Malone says it is still "difficult to determine how much he contributed to a settlement", but Professor Chinard takes the ground that it was he who originated the idea of the purchase, and urged it upon the President. In either case the correspondence is vital to a proper understanding of this transaction, so important in the development of the United States.

For those who are seeking proof that much of Jefferson's political and economic philosophy was drawn from French sources the correspondence is disappointing. Professor Chinard takes strong ground against the view that Jefferson was a disciple of the Physiocrats. "The fact is that quite independently, he had reached the same conclusions as the French Economists on a certain number of important questions", he says, "but these conclusions were probably derived, by the use of ordinary common sense and judgment, from a body of very simple principles generally recognized at the time by all liberal thinkers."

None the less, Jefferson, during the most active years of his career, was undoubtedly deeply influenced by Du Pont's thought provoking letters. We can see the doctrine of the two spheres in embryo in Du Pont's statement, in 1808, that "just now America is a *new world* in which your nation has carried and will keep principles of liberty which some day will help heal the ills of the *old world*". Again Du Pont's view that in the matter of the Floridas the only concern of the United States was to prevent the provinces from falling into the hands of "any European and maritime

power", must have had its influence upon Jefferson's thought on this subject.

Both editors have done their work well, and students of American history will be grateful to them for making available in such convenient form this interesting and valuable series of letters.

Princeton University. T. J. WERTENBAKER.

The Great Plains. By WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB, Associate Professor of History, the University of Texas. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1931. Pp. xv, 525. $4.00.)

THIS is the most useful book on the West that has appeared in many years. Whether it is to be described as history or sociology, or as that new form of geography that embraces the human occupant as well as the land upon which he lives, is not quite clear. Nor is it material. The raw stuff out of which the frontier hypothesis was drawn by Professor Turner has never permitted itself to be classified. Turner is as much the economist working along historical lines, as the historian working among economic provinces. The value of his generalization is derived from the broad sweep of his sources. This book does for one of his sections or provinces what no writer has as yet done for any other. It happens that nature has laid down for the Great Plains an environment of engaging simplicity; but this does not detract from the credit due Professor Webb for his industry, his insight, or the literary skill he has shown in displaying the results of his work.

Many writers have commented upon the fact that the "heel and toe" process (Allen Johnson's phrase) of occupation of the land ceased on the Missouri border, and that the High Plains and the Far West waited for the railroad before their development could be complete. Webb has elaborated this. He has shown that the natural resources of the plains, too refractory for hand tools, required better implements than the pioneer farmer could command. The Colt revolver first gave the Westerner equality with the mounted Indian, equipped with bow and arrows. The barbed wire fence first cut his costs for stock tending and crop protection in a treeless area. The windmill first brought him water to go with prairie grass. Power machinery, culminating for the moment in the wheat "combine", reduced his labor costs on fields of low crop yield. Not until the Industrial Revolution was in full blast was it possible for the last steps in the occupation of the continent to take place; and the farmer who worked with the tools of this revolution was a human being far different from the frontier farmer of the early West.

The field of Professor Webb's study is that region where level country, scanty rainfall, and lack of trees create an environment that is sharply dif-

ferent from the woodland areas of the East. His abundant maps—and they are as good as they are numerous—show how precisely nature has delimited the plains between the ninety-eighth meridian and the front range, and how the Great Plains were a natural interruption to Westward expansion. His chapters cover, simply and adequately, the physical basis, the native Indians, and the approach from opposite directions of the Spanish and American frontiers. In the cattle kingdom the first typical resources of the Great Plains were displayed. The search for transportation, fencing, and water comes next. And at the end he considers the reaction of the plains' needs upon the national law, the literature of the United States, and the American imagination. He understands an impressive spread of sources. And he has justified or demolished many generalizations about the West that have been, hitherto, matters only of philosophy or inference.

The University of Wisconsin. FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

A History of the Pacific Northwest. By GEORGE W. FULLER, Librarian, Spokane Public Library, Secretary, Eastern Washington State Historical Society. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. Pp. xvi, 383. $5.00.)

"THIS", says the author, "is a history of the only region added to the Union of states by discovery, exploration and occupation." Such activities did not enable the United States to dispense with diplomacy, whose long-drawn course the author summarizes in this valuable work.

The book contains nineteen chapters, the first, on geology, being practically unique in an historical handbook. There are four chapters on social life, which, however, stress mining conditions rather than agriculture. Much space, relatively, is devoted to railway history, reclamation of arid lands, and water power development.

Mr. Fuller's librarianship is a fact which is pertinent as helping to explain the peculiar Winsor-like style of writing, as if from a drawer of library cards, and also the noticeable emphasis upon inland empire happenings, particularly the detailed accounts of the military operations during the Indian wars. This, however, adds decidedly to the book's value for reference.

The story of the Indian wars shows evidence of original geographical studies by the author. Aside from this, he does not seem to have added much that is new, although he makes a meticulously careful study of such sources as have been unearthed by previous writers. There is probably no other history of the region which, in equivalent space, provides so much usable historical data. The readers who will profit most from its use are those who have a groundwork of elementary knowledge about the vast and fascinating section of our country dealt with. It is clearly not a book for

beginners. It takes much for granted at all points of the story and it lacks the epic swing.

The book is so excellent both in its scholarship and in its printing that one dislikes to point out errors. Yet, as in most first editions, some of these appear. This reviewer knows of no source which justifies the unqualified statement that "Jefferson decided to get Americans into the valley of the Columbia without delay in order to establish a claim by exploration in addition to Gray's discovery of the river" (p. 62). It is even doubtful if he was fully aware of Gray's discovery, save as grudgingly conceded in Vancouver's *Voyages*. Neither is it justifiable to make Calhoun unreservedly the champion of Oregon. While he performed yeoman service in securing the region from England, he was bitterly opposed to the organization of Oregon Territory on the basis of its antislavery provisional constitution. Tradition, indeed, has charged that the Knights of the Golden Circle, during the Civil War, "imported arms and drilled its members by night". But if the "drilling" is no better substantiated than the arms importation no historian has the right to repeat such stories.

The illustrations, thirty-eight in number, add both a pleasant and a valuable feature to the book, which can be heartily recommended for its informative qualities.

J. S.

SHORTER NOTICES

Évolution et Révolutions. Par Henri Sée. [Bibliothèque de Philosophie Scientifique.] (Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1929, pp. 260, 12 fr.)

Bases Scientifiques d'une Philosophie de l'Histoire. Par Dr. Gustave Le Bon. [Bibliothèque, etc.] (Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1931, pp. 325, 15 fr.) In the first of these two books, Professor Sée takes a clearly defined subdivision of the general problem of the nature and meaning of history, adopts a position, and defends this position with a wealth of historical allusion to various revolutions. The swift and far-reaching type of overturn which we have associated with the word "revolution" since 1789 takes place only where evolution has been comparatively rapid. A revolution succeeds in a practical way "only in the measure that it is in line with previous evolution". But evolution does not make revolution inevitable, or determine its course in detail. Miscalculations, unpredictable resistances, the very fact of swift adjustment to events, and innumerable "accidents" may precipitate a revolution, and also bring about an unexpected surplus of accomplishment which surpasses popular aspirations and disquiets the masses of people. This "revolutionary surplus" may seem to be lost in the ensuing "stabilization", but is "precisely the special contribution of the revolution"—the rest could have occurred through evolution. Though discredited

and apparently lost for the moment, this surplus of aspirations of special groups of people is likely to reappear in the decades following, and to influence greatly the course of evolution. Footnotes would improve this workmanlike and interesting book, but they are excluded from the series.

Dr. Le Bon's book contains a large number of extremely short chapters, of which the connection one with another is not always evident. To him the philosophy of history and his theories of social evolution, as expressed in his earlier writings, are the same thing. Thus the present popular work becomes mainly a brief summary of what he considers to be his own personal contribution to a great variety of subjects.

The University of California. M. M. KNIGHT.

The Principles of Judicial Proof, or the Process of Proof as given by Logic, Psychology, and General Experience, and illustrated in Judicial Trials. By John Henry Wigmore, Professor of the Law of Evidence in Northwestern University. [Second edition, entirely revised and rewritten.] (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1931, pp. xix, 1056.) Appendix IV. of this volume devotes twelve pages to the Principles of Proof applied to General History, with a list of thirty historical cases which may be used as problems in the applications of these principles. As a basis the compiler takes the excellent book of the late Allen Johnson and briefly compares many of the topics there treated with the methods employed in judicial procedure. Valuation of the various classes of historical material, personal testimony with the application of psychology, authentication of documents and their use in evidence, and in general, the nature of proof are subjects which find extended treatment in the main body of the work and are here shown to have parallel uses in history. Complaint is entered that historians classify and analyze their sources from their own point of view. What is needed is a general Science of Proof, wherein history and judicial procedure shall be considered related branches. "Could not the historian take as a basis of his system of proof some system already found useful in the cognate field of judicial inquiry?" This may be desirable, but the historian would still be obliged to follow his own path. Careful valuation of different materials is of profound importance, and in their use the historian is unfettered by the technicalities, time limits, and statutory restrictions necessary in legal procedure. Nevertheless, the study of evidence as practiced in the courts is of great value to the historical student, both for similarities and differences. He would profit by the reading of this whole volume, particularly the chapters on testimonial evidence and detection of error.

Pasadena. J. M. VINCENT.

Menschen die Geschichte machten: Viertausend Jahre Weltgeschichte in Zeit- und Lebensbildern. Herausgegeben von Peter Richard Rohden und Georg Ostrogorsky. Three volumes. (Vienna, L. W. Seidel and Son, 1931, pp. vii, 327; viii, 386; vii, 384, 10 M.) The title of the work under review is self-explanatory. An attempt is made to see the history of the world through the lives of its great personages. Starting with Sesostris and Hammurabi and ending with such modern characters as Wilson, Lenin, Clemenceau, and Stresemann, nearly two hundred sketches of outstanding personages, averaging less than ten pages each, are given. Much care has apparently been used in their selection. Rulers, popes, statesmen, reformers, philosophers, great scholars, revolutionary leaders, as well as several great financiers, are included in these brief biographies. There are omissions; for example, great scientists and the personalities of China, Japan, or India.

Nearly every sketch has been contributed by a different distinguished authority, and German, French, English, Austrian, Hungarian, Czecho-slovakian, Bulgarian, Russian, and Italian scholars are all represented. As is natural in a publication of this sort the lives are of varied interest and value. It may be said, however, that an honest effort has been made to assess the policies and the important contributions which each personage has made to his time. An illustration or two may make plain the interest which such a work may possess. Charles V., in a sketch by Professor G. Mentz of Jena, is described as having a keen sense of his rôle as head of Christendom and as feeling that his house was destined to dominate Europe. Nevertheless, the emperor was far from possessing insatiable land hunger. His nature was not that of a conqueror. He possessed political wisdom sufficient to know that the government of Austria might not be united with that of Spain and early entrusted Austria to his brother. He was prepared to marry his niece to the Duke of Orleans, the second son of Francis I., and leave Milan to the pair, thus putting an end to strife for the duchy. Throughout his reign his policy had been defensive and he advised his son to pursue a peaceful life.

Coming to recent times the sketch of Wilson written by Professor Friedrich Luckwaldt of Danzig contains the query, less surprising to German than to American readers: "Was he prophet or intriguer, saint or hypocrite, enemy or slave of Wall Street, genius or pure rhetorician, did he wish peace or war, freedom or oppression, the happiness of mankind or the increase of American power, or only the satisfaction of his own desire for glory and vanity?"

The Pennsylvania State College. JAMES EDWARD GILLESPIE.

Pétra et la Nabatène: l'Arabie Pétrée et les Arabes du Nord dans leurs Rapports avec la Syrie et la Palestine jusqu'à l'Islam. Par A. Kammerer.

Deux tomes, *Texte, Atlas.* (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1929, 1930, pp. xiii, 630; 152 plates, 300 fr.) The Nabatæans were one of the elusive peoples of antiquity. We first hear of them in the Chronicles of Ashurbanapal, king of Assyria in the seventh century B.C., who came in contact with them in northwest Arabia. Two centuries later they drove the Edomites from Edom and occupied their land. Soon after that they established a kingdom with its capital at Petra, a city which played an important part in the history of Palestine and Syria. The kingdom continued until it was overthrown in the year 106 A.D. by the Emperor Trajan, who erected upon its ruins the Roman province of Arabia. Although the Nabatæans thus came in contact with all the peoples of Western Asia, including Jews, Greeks, and Romans, it is exceedingly difficult to write their history as they left no literature except a few inscribed monuments. Nevertheless, their contacts with their neighbors and the fascinatingly beautiful architecture of Petra and Palmyra make their story one of considerable importance to the historian. The monumental work of Kammerer is the most complete account of their history and civilization that has ever been published. He describes the sources of their history, discusses their origin, gives an outline of their contacts with Egypt, Assyria, Palestine, with the Seleucid rulers of Syria, and with the Romans. Five chapters (IX.-XIII.) are devoted to the history of the Nabatæan dynasty at Petra. A history of the province of Arabia is then sketched, the story of Palmyra is told, a chapter is given to the phylarches of Saracen times, and a chapter to Petra in the time of the Crusades. A chapter each is also given to the manners and government of the Nabatæans, to their religion, to their language and inscriptions, to their architecture and monuments, and to their coinage. Four appendixes discuss respectively the exploration of Arabia by Aelius Gallus, the description of Arabia by Pliny, the Nabatæan coinage in the collection of the "Pères d'Afrique" in Jerusalem, and Transjordania and Arabia Petra by automobile. The volume is copiously supplied with excellent maps and equipped with a good index. The second volume, which is called the *Atlas,* contains 152 plates which embody pictures of all the important monuments and some of the inscriptions which are discussed in volume I. The work is one of which no student of the Orient can afford to be ignorant. It is complete, accurate, and authoritative.

The University of Pennsylvania. GEORGE A. BARTON.

Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij. Door Barbara Catharina Jacoba Timmer, Geboren te Haarlem. (Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1930, pp. 323, $2.00.) The *Indica* of Megasthenes, envoy of Seleucus Nicator to the court of Chandragupta a generation after Alexander the Great, was the first considerable work by a Greek author devoted exclusively to India and

her institutions. The work though lost was utilized by many classical authors, notably by Strabo, Diodorus, Arrian, Pliny the Elder, and Aelian. For having extended the expeditions of Heracles and Dionysus to India, and for telling of *enotocoetae,* beings that covered themselves with their ear, or of gold-digging ants, or of beings without nose or without mouth, or with only one eye, or with only one leg, and of others with legs and feet turning backward, he was, along with other Greek writers on India, characterized as a liar by Eratosthenes and Strabo. When, however, Schwanbeck in *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn, 1846) collected his fragments and interpreted them in the light of Sanskrit studies, he showed that Heracles and Dionysus were to be identified respectively with Krishna and Çiva, and that the monstrosities above mentioned existed in the background of Indian literature and fancy, and were not after all the inventions of Megasthenes.

In the study at present under review—a doctoral dissertation presented in 1930 at the University of Amsterdam—Miss Timmer subjects Megasthenes to a more detailed examination. While not concerning herself specially with the spectacular features mentioned above, she essays a critical evaluation of his portrayal of Indian society: how he gathered his information, and how far his conclusions are reliable. The study is in two main parts, of which the first deals with the general questions concerning Megasthenes's work and the use made of it by the five principal classical authors mentioned above, and, far more important, its comparison with his probable Indian sources. In this connection Miss Timmer observes that most Indian works are not sharply datable; that the books of law give precepts rather than facts, and that the narrative works do not aim at reproducing reality; that the viewpoint of native Indians and of foreigners is likely to be different. In the second part of the dissertation are grouped topically, with Dutch translation, the fragments concerned with Indian customs and society. The conclusion is reached that where Megasthenes based his report on his own observation he is entirely trustworthy; that although he did not always gauge at their true worth the Indian authorities on which he relied, he nevertheless at other times gave a realistic description of facts that in Indian sources are presented either not at all or not in their true light.

Duke University. ANDREW R. ANDERSON.

The Architect of the Roman Empire, 27 B.C.–A.D. 14. By T. Rice Holmes, Hon. Litt.D., Hon. D.Litt., F.B.A. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. x, 192, $4.75.) "This volume, a continuation of one published in 1928 with the same title, but dealing only with the period 44–27 B.C.", resembles the earlier publication

in many ways. Part I. is an exposition of the events of the principate of Augustus. Part II. is a series of discussions on points of controversy. Three maps, a general index, and an index of modern commentators, those whose findings have been stated, complete the work. Interpretation, as in the first volume, is generally suggested by the selection of facts, and not presented in definite statement. The author's aims are "to estimate his (Augustus's) historical significance" and to present the "evidence for what is historically important". To Dr. Holmes the historically important facts are those which deal with politics, law, religion, administration, and foreign affairs. The work of the "architect" in these fields, and in these alone, is given in amazing detail and with an imposing array of classical literary sources. Modern authorities receive less generous treatment. Each reader will no doubt look in vain for his favorite monograph on this or that topic. The reviewer wonders why Krascheninnikoff is the only writer mentioned out of the many who have contributed to our knowledge of the imperial cult. The twenty notes of part II. cover a wide range. Most authoritative and most detailed are those entitled, The Campaigns of Drusus in 12–11 B.C., Aliso, the Site of the Varian Disaster, The Date of the Varian Disaster. These notes are not only instructive but delightfully frank in expression of opinion. The physical handicap under which Dr. Holmes has heroically labored has not dimmed his spirit. Nor has it robbed him of that better part of valor. To the question: Was the principate monarchy or republic? he replies, ". . . so far as it had been possible for human ingenuity, he (Augustus) had kept the promise . . . to restore the Republic. . . . Step by step, he had trained the Senate to coöperate with its president, the First Citizen, and if he foresaw that the ultimate result would be its complete subservience he may have believed that the evil, if he so regarded it, was inevitable and not without compensation."

The University of California. J. J. Van Nostrand.

The End of the Ancient World and the Beginning of the Middle Ages. By Ferdinand Lot, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. Translated by Philip Leon, M.A., and Mariette Leon, M.A., Docteur d'Université. [The History of Civilization, edited by C. K. Ogden, M.A.] (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, pp. xxvi, 454, $5.00.) The English version of this excellent French book, which was reviewed here in 1928 (XXXIV. 102), reproduces the original in all particulars, including illustrations and maps. The translation is adequate, in so far as it does not misrepresent the author's meaning; but it is not idiomatic English. For example, M. Lot is greatly addicted to the use of the historical present. The translator slavishly copies this idiom, oblivious of the fact that it is foreign to our language. Thus we are treated to this kind of thing (p. 28): "Let

us note, first of all, that the edict of toleration does not issue from Constantine alone. In the same year (June 13th) Licinius also issues one in the East, at Nicomedia, and Licinius is not and never will be a Christian." The cumbersome bibliography, in which old and new, short articles and large works in one or more volumes, are all jumbled together, is retained in the English edition. What is worse—scarcely any of the numerous errata in the original have been corrected and new ones have crept in. We have counted over seventy, mostly in German titles; in fact, the confusion of German genders and cases would disgrace a schoolboy in his second year of German. The publishers can not be congratulated on this production, and all readers who can will be well advised to use the French original.

M. L. W. L.

History of England. By Alfred H. Sweet, Professor of European History in Washington and Jefferson College. (Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1931, pp. ix, 798, $3.80.) To the other texts of English history, Professor Sweet has added this interesting and attractive volume. In the main, it is a political history of England, although attention is paid to the economic and social life of the English people. Proper consideration is also given to the development of the English constitution. In presenting these facts, the author has apportioned his material between the medieval and modern eras in a very satisfactory fashion. The style is direct and should be easily assimilated by college students. The author does not hesitate to assert his own convictions in respect to certain matters, although it is apparent, from his liberal quotations, that he has leaned heavily upon a number of well-known scholars. Critical bibliographies, moreover, follow each chapter. Not only does Dr. Sweet overemphasize the political narrative but he also stresses military events to an extent that may be questioned. One finds no reference to the development of organized peace efforts in England and very little to the literary activities of the English people. Again, a fairer evaluation of certain controversial matters would have added to the merits of this volume. For example, although it is true that Napoleon was forced to buy heavily of England, it is equally true that French wines and wheat were bought in large amounts by English traders, much to the embarrassment of the British government. The index is notably weak. Chartism, for instance, does not find a place in this index although Maria Theresa is mentioned.

Syracuse University. W. F. Galpin.

Irland. Von M. F. Liddell, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer an der Universität Birmingham. [Handbuch der Englisch-Amerikanischen Kultur, herausgegeben von Wilhelm Dibelius.] (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1931, pp. 170,

6.80 M.) This neat and well printed volume professes to be a handbook on the Ireland of to-day, for the use of German readers. Of its 164 pages of text seventy-seven are devoted to the history of the country to the outbreak of the World War, and forty-two to that from 1914 to 1929, an indication as to how largely any attempt to present the political and social conditions of contemporary Ireland must involve the retelling of the story of her past. The first part of this historical section seems well calculated to meet the needs of the readers for whom it is designed. It is surprising how much information has been presented within such a small compass without giving the impression of overcrowding. Some slips are inevitable: 463 is not the accepted date of the death of St. Patrick (p. 4), and 828 for that of Sedulius Scottus is an error (p. 6). The later part, from about 1914, may be recommended to other readers besides those of German speech, partly because of the judicial attitude of the author, partly because of the dearth of substantial treatises on this important phase of contemporary history. The author clears away some of the mythology that has grown up under the eyes of the present generation: his presentation of the character of the Sinn Fein movement and of its relation to the insurrection of 1916 is an example. A similar clear-cut statement on the origins of the Irish Volunteers is missed. At the end of each section there is a brief, carefully selected bibliography, of value for the tyro in Irish studies, and at the end of the volume a useful index.

J. F. K.

Histoire d'Espagne. Par Rafael Altamira y Crevea, Professeur à l'Université de Madrid. (Paris, Colin, 1931, pp. 222, 10.50 fr.) Any volume from the pen of Professor Rafael Altamira, the dean and best known of contemporary Spanish historians, merits attention. This epitome of Spanish history is not a summary of the author's more extended works, but a new text written because of the progress made in Spanish historical studies during the last decade and because of a new understanding of certain periods of Spanish history. In view of the new 1929 edition of his *Histoire de la Civilisation Espagnole,* the volume under review is devoted mainly to a recital of the essential facts of the long political history of Spain from the earliest times down to the establishment of the present republic. In the manner of selecting and reciting the facts, which are worthy of being remembered and which have left an imprint on human history, the author believes he has given an echo and application of his theories and philosophy of history.

Five brief chapters cover the prehistoric times, and the Roman, Visigothic, and Moorish domination to the end of the tenth century. From the eleventh century onward about equal space is devoted to each century.

The several chapters deal with the Christian advances of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries; the end of the reconquest and beginnings of political unity; the period of greatness and decline (1516–1700); the eighteenth century and the Bourbons; and finally the struggles for constitutionalism and the economic and cultural renaissance. The little volume is a most useful addition to the Colin series and merits presentation in English.

Leonia, N. J. ROSCOE R. HILL.

La Época de los Grandes Descubrimientos Españoles y Portugueses. Por Gonzalo de Reparaz (Hijo). [Colección Labor, no. 75.] (Barcelona and Buenos Aires, Editorial Labor, 1931, pp. 206.) Gonzalo de Reparaz, jr., is the most prolific writer on historical geography in Spain. To his abundant and voluminous works on Catalan and Portuguese cartography and exploration, he has now added a brief and adequate history of man's discovery of the world, up to Magellan. He follows Schulten in the earlier western period, Ferrand and Warmington for the eastward trade routes; he is at his best in describing the cool, methodical Portuguese exploration—one of the greatest chapters in human progress—in whose traditions Columbus himself was formed. Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Cortes, are among the figures singled out for description; the whole forms a well balanced story, with numerous bibliographical references. As the author sadly confesses, Spain has produced many mediocre and superficial treatises on this subject; we may congratulate this young man on a really useful and stimulating booklet. It is admirably printed; there are fifteen figures in the text, twelve plates, and five maps.

North Hatley, Quebec. CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

Letters of John III., King of Portugal, 1521–1557. The Portuguese Text edited with an Introduction, by J. D. M. Ford. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1931, pp. xxx, 408, $3.50.) John III., who reigned from 1521 to 1557, was the last king of the great days of Portugal. Although in his pietistic way he was a patron of art and literature, he was not a creator of either, and he is best known as the Portuguese ruler who brought the Inquisition into his country. The 372 letters of the present volume (all but twenty-three hitherto unpublished) come from the Fernando Palha collection, and are now the property of Harvard University, a gift of Mr. John B. Stetson, jr. They cover the years 1523–1557, and were addressed for the most part to John's chancellor of the exchequer. Accordingly, they treat almost exclusively affairs of state and business, and shed new light upon the king's character and administrative methods. The most important single theme is the letter of marque issued to the French corsair Jean Ango; this portion had already been published by Palha in 1882. John's

personal management of the Indian colonies is illuminated in many curious details. Obviously, this material will be indispensable to future historians of the period.

The last two letters are thought by the editor to be in the king's own hand, and no. 371 is reproduced in facsimile. A portrait of John, source not stated, serves as a frontispiece.

The editing is that of a very competent philologist, not of one whose primary interest is history. The difficult scripts of the various amanuenses have been skillfully deciphered, and the text is printed with the utmost cleanness. An introduction of twenty-five pages provides historical background and discusses the contents of the letters. At the end of the volume one finds a note on the peculiar spellings of the text, and a glossary of archaic Portuguese forms. There are, however, no elucidative notes, and no index. Both would have been useful to historians.

The University of California. S. Griswold Morley.

Correspondance de la Cour d'Espagne sur les Affaires des Pays-Bas au XVII^e Siècle. Recueil commencé par Henri Lonchay et continué par Joseph Cuvelier avec la Collaboration de Joseph Lefèvre. Tome III., *Précis de la Correspondance de Philippe IV., 1633–1647.* [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, 1930, pp. xviii, 740.) In 1903 the Commission Royale d'Histoire of Belgium decided to send a qualified historian, fully acquainted with the manuscript sources of the period, to Simancas in order to collect the documents concerning the relations of the Spanish or Southern Netherlands with the Spanish kingdom. The great archivist and scholar Garchard had published the documents dealing with the reign of Philip II., and it seemed highly advisable to continue the work. Henri Lonchay was sent in 1906, and the industry of this scholar was such that all the pieces of various classes of documents were examined. After his death the work was carried forward by the archivist J. Cuvelier and his assistant, J. Lefèvre. The first volume (1923) dealing with the period from 1598 to 1621 contained 1558 documents, and the second (1927), covering the years from 1621 to 1633, had as many as 2187. This third volume contains 1930 documents and carries us to 1647.

The set will be of great help to all students of the seventeenth century. In the English speaking world, and in our own land not the least, the tendency has been to regard the events touching the Low Countries during the Thirty Years' War in a most stepfatherly fashion. Few seem to comprehend the significance of events in that part of Europe. The efforts of Spain to use the lands as a military base are often passed over in silence, and the heroic achievements of the Dutch navy and Frederick Henry, the

stadholder, in an age when the English government seemed unconscious of its stake in the struggle or was unable to act because of the great crisis of the Civil War, are simply never mentioned, all of which argues a fundamental misunderstanding of the character of this part of the struggle.

It is unfortunate that we have here only the calendared form of the documents. Much has no doubt been left out which would interest historians. Economic matters apparently were largely omitted. So great is the task and expense of preparing accurate texts of documents *in extenso* that we ought to be grateful for what is here presented. The work is without doubt well done so that we can rely with certainty on the data given. A very full index enables the student to turn to any topic and rapidly trace it in all its ramifications.

The University of Washington. HENRY S. LUCAS.

Studies in English Puritanism from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660–1688. By C. E. Whiting, D.D., B.C.L., Reader in History in the University of Durham, and Vice-Principal of St. Chad's College, Durham. (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xvi, 584, $7.50.) Dr. Whiting has taken time from work upon a history of Restoration Puritanism to complete and publish a dozen studies on topics subsidiary to his major theme. But the theme is a large one and his knowledge of it sufficient to allow him wide range. The series begins with a justification of the Act of Uniformity, 1662, and ends with Bypaths of Puritan Literature, and in between are discussions of theological and social aspects of the struggle among Anglicans and Dissenters, and histories of the dissenting Protestant sects.

The name "studies" is aptly given to these papers, for they lack the expansiveness and consideration of generalities which distinguish the essay. And, what is more, they are devoid of that bare minimum of arrangement and digestion which ought to mark the most factual study. Their common form is a paragraph or two of introduction followed by forty pages of raw detail and each comes to a sudden and unpremeditated end. Dr. Whiting writes as though he were slave to a full notebook; who else would close a work of 570 pages with the sentence: "It was a small octavo, illustrated by plates, showing the torture of Protestants."

But his detail, though loosely handled, does give life and color to the picture of Restoration Puritanism. As he recites names of ministers, different standards of ordination, and degrees of variation in public worship that prevailed from 1660 to 1662, he fills in a background of religious and political chaos against which the Act of Uniformity appears as an inevitable step. Similarly, when he tells the history of the Quakers, Muggletonians, or Sweet Singers of Israel in terms of pamphlet titles and petty court

proceedings, the intimacy of the chronicle compensates in part for its lack of cogency.

Cogent and more general treatment of Restoration Puritanism we may hope to find in the formal history now in preparation by Dr. Whiting, and with that work in mind we may regard the present volume as an appendix, or collection of *pièces justificatives* which has appeared out of season. Were it to be judged independently, attention would have to be drawn, not only to the defects named above, but to considerable faults in the bibliography and to the question whether, in discussing the religious history of the period, it is reasonable to give so much consideration as Dr. Whiting does to minor variations of sectarian doctrine.

Cornell University. F. G. MARCHAM.

Os Jesuítas no Grão-Pará: suas Missões e a Colonização. Por J. Lúcio de Azevedo. Segunda Edição Revista. (Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1930, pp. vii, 436, 30 escudos.) This excellent book won immediate recognition on its first publication, in 1901. Professor Lúcio de Azevedo has revised the whole, and rewritten his vivid account of Pombal's struggle with the Jesuits, in the light of the recently published documents connecting the Távoras and the Duque de Aveiro with the attempt on D. José's life in 1758. It is not only a dramatic study of the beginnings, expansion, and downfall of the Jesuit establishments in Pará and Maranhão, but an admirable sketch of the process of colonization in Brazil. The sober description of the inevitable commercialization of the Jesuit missions—the feature which most antagonized the colonists and the government—has a real epic swing. As one who has worked among the same documents in Lisbon and Evora, the reviewer misses exact references; and the index is deficient, especially in place-names. The printing is good, though marred by misprints in almost all quotations from foreign languages, even Latin and Spanish. A welcome addition is the 1637 map of the Amazon, based on the journey of the Franciscans Frei André de Toledo and Frei Domingos de Brieva in 1636.

North Hatley, Quebec. CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

Au Temps des Sociétés Secrètes: la Propagande Républicaine au Début de la Monarchie de Juillet, 1830–1835. Par Gabriel Perreux. (Paris, Hachette, 1931, pp. xlii, 398, 35 fr.) When the July Revolution of 1830 replaced Charles X. by a constitutional king instead of a republic, many people were sorely disappointed. Eighteen years later, when it became Louis Philippe's turn to go, these people saw to it that the mistake was not repeated. The Orleanist solution was not the only possible expedient in 1830 nor was the creation of the Second Republic in 1848 inevitable

merely because the Orleanist monarchy had failed. During the intervening period a signally important change had taken place within the republican movement itself. Its numbers had greatly increased, particularly in the departments and among the working class, a habit of political organization and instruction had been established and the leaders had become interested in the social and economic welfare of the poor. This change goes far to explain the victory of 1848 as well as the defeat of 1830.

The process and machinery of the change are studied for the first time in great detail by M. Perreux in the admirable monograph here reviewed. This study is based on a very extended use of archival and other contemporary sources and is thoroughly scientific in method. Indeed the meticulous detail becomes burdensome at times, so that the book is calculated rather for reference than for pleasurable reading. The title is somewhat misleading, for in nine of the ten chapters the propaganda described is open, taking the form of nation-wide associations such as the *Droits de l'Homme* and a dignified press, with such papers as *Le National* and *La Tribune*. There were many minor associations and journals, both in Paris and the departments; the author studies their diffusion by sections, finding them most numerous in the patriotic east. This situation existed between 1832 and 1835, after which severe governmental repression brought it to an end and drove the republican movement underground. A fascinating account of the Charbonnerie and other secret societies is given in the last chapter.

The author points out the importance of this propaganda in the development of a cheap, popular press and of adult education, nonpolitical as well as political. There is a long and complete source bibliography, describing even the contents of each archival carton. M. Perreux seems to credit the legend that Lafayette considered the Orleanist monarchy "the best of republics" (pp. 2, 18); in three letters to Baltimore and New York correspondents, written in August and September, 1830, Lafayette categorically denied both the phrase and the opinion.

Goucher College. EUGENE N. CURTIS.

A Crusade for Humanity: the History of Organized Positivism in England. By John Edwin McGee, M.A., Instructor in History in the College of the City of New York. (London, Watts and Company, 1931, pp. x, 249, 21 s.) Though the annals of Positivism are as short and simple as those of the poor no student of recent intellectual history can afford to hear them with a disdainful smile. For Positivism attracted the attention of many eminent men of the later nineteenth century, and typified an important crisis in the European soul. Expressly manufactured to fill the vacuum created by the exhaustion of Christian dogma, Positivism was the

most synthetic and artificial of religions. Believing that the prime social and ethical problem is the subordination of egotism to altruism, and denying that this could be accomplished without the aid of religious emotion, Comte set up Humanity as an object of worship, and fashioned a cult with prayer, ritual, a priesthood, sacraments, and a calendar of saints closely modeled on the pattern of the Catholic Church.

Brought to England in 1854 by Richard Congreve, Positivism soon afterward appealed to some of the intellectuals plagued with nostalgia for a faith abandoned under the stress of Darwinism. Not a few men of brilliant minds associated themselves with the new church. With abounding zeal they took up the cause of Humanity in a series of movements championing the Sepoys, the Irish, and the Boers against British imperialism, the working classes against capitalistic exploitation, women against male dominance, and animals against the vivisectors. They fostered education and produced some excellent works on historical subjects.

But they soon staggered under the attacks of enemies, of whom the most dangerous were not the adherents of the older faith, but rationalists more radical than they. John Stuart Mill criticized their ethical doctrines and their strange rites; Thomas Huxley branded their religion as "Catholicism minus Christianity"; Ruskin found fault with them for preaching a religion of steam engines and factories; and Herbert Spencer assailed their identification of Humanity with the Unknowable. A generation no longer feeling the need of religious emotion fell away from them. Their numbers dwindled. Sired by scientific skepticism and mothered by religious emotion, Positivism proved to be one of those hybrids vigorous in the first generation, but incapable of perpetuating its kind. The story of its rise and fall in England is worth telling, and has been told so well by Mr. McGee that his work will not need to be done again.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

Le Bureau de Police du Comité de Salut Public: Étude sur la Terreur. Par Arne Ording. [Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II., Historisk-Filosofisk Klasse, 1930, no. 6.] (Oslo, Jacob Dybwad, 1930, pp. 195, 12 kr.) In this monograph of modest dimensions the author has succeeded in discrediting the common conception of the rôle of the police bureau of the Committee of Public Safety which was established in the spring of 1794. At the same time he seems to have disposed of one of the traditional charges made against Robespierre and his friends, St. Just and Couthon. Ever since the Thermidorians proceeded to load upon Robespierre's name the odium of the Terror this bureau of police has been considered as his peculiar instrument of domination. The historians have hitherto failed to test the validity of the charge by a thorough analysis of

the papers of the bureau. This, Herr Ording, a student of Professors Bull and Koht at Oslo, and of Professor Mathiez at Paris, has done. From the evidence he has collected it is apparent that the Robespierrist group had immediate supervision of the bureau, much as Carnot controlled military operations and Jean Bon St. André, the marine. The bureau made regular reports from early in Floréal until the 10th of Thermidor, the day after Robespierre's overthrow. In these reports there are 3777 separate items or articles. They were annotated at first chiefly by Robespierre, later by St. Just and Couthon. Upon the basis of such marginal notations, where action seemed called for, minutes were drawn by the Robespierrists, sometimes by other members of the committee or by the head of the bureau. Herr Ording believes that these minutes were referred to the Committee of Public Safety and embodied in decisions. Out of 464 decisions (*arrêtés*) in matters of police he has found 121 of the corresponding minutes. There are doubtless others still to be found, but the signatures on those already known, and on the decisions of the committee which resulted, show that other members besides the Robespierrists shared the responsibility for the operations of the bureau. Moreover, the marginal comments written by Robespierre do not suggest any startling scheme of political manipulation. There is also little to show that an attempt was being made to supplant the Committee of General Security. Undoubtedly Robespierre came to distrust that committee, especially after Vadier's report on the affair of Cathérine Théot. What does surprise the reader of this monograph is that a political leader occupied as Robespierre was should have devoted so much attention to somewhat petty affairs of revolutionary police.

B.

Modern English Reform, from Individualism to Socialism. By Edward P. Cheyney, Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania. [A Course of Lowell Lectures.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931, pp. vii, 223, $2.00.) Professor Cheyney views English reforms, as inscribed on the statute book since 1800, as "a continuous development, the gradual unfolding of a drama, the logical working out of forces inherent in the time". In tracing this development, he begins by describing The Wealth and Poverty of England in 1800 and then he sketches the character and methods of the early reformers, the history of the abolition of slavery, reforms in the criminal code, Parliamentary reform, the repeal of the Corn Laws, the Rise of the Working Classes, 1796–1929, Constructive Reforms, 1860–1914, and British Socialism, 1817–1930. Lists are given of reform measures and of reforming societies.

The lectures are lucid and they contain a wealth of information. Few will quarrel with Professor Cheyney's general views as expressed in the

introduction; but many may take exception to several of the assertions and generalizations made in the lectures themselves. By extending the period of *laissez faire* thirty years beyond its proper terminal, 1830, Professor Cheyney confuses both himself and his readers. The positive character of the reform legislation before 1860 is minimized; such significant measures as the public health acts and the beginnings of civil service reform are ignored, the railway acts of the 'forties, when Peel and Gladstone seriously considered the nationalization of the railways, are passed over lightly, and we are virtually asked to class the establishment of religious equality among negative reforms.

Professor Cheyney thinks that the reforms before 1860 should, in the main, be credited to the aristocracy, while those after that date owe their inception and adoption to the influence of the working classes. Both propositions are dubious, to put it mildly. In the earlier period middle class initiative and middle and lower class coercion in certain crises were the most potent factors in producing reforms. And after 1860 many exceptions and reservations will have to be made if the far-reaching and vital reform measures of the 'seventies and 'eighties are to be placed to the credit of labor. The real significance of having leaders with the background, habits, and outlook of men of business, such as Huskisson, Peel, Gladstone, and Joseph Chamberlain in high offices has apparently escaped Professor Cheyney's attention. True, "the bread and butter question" is important, but when discussing laws *for* the people, it is well to bear in mind that "man liveth not by bread alone".

The University of Wisconsin. PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism. By Carlton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York, Richard R. Smith, 1931, pp. viii, 327, $3.50.) Professor Hayes has here supplemented his *Essays on Nationalism* (1926) with a more systematic survey of the subject. Following the general thesis that "Nationalism is plural rather than singular" (p. v), he traces the doctrines of nationalism through a series of stages of his own naming and delimitation. After a short introduction, there follows a discussion of the Humanitarian Nationalism of Bolingbroke, Rousseau, and Herder. Then in turn there are chapters on the Jacobin Nationalism of the French Revolution, on the parallel and immediately succeeding Traditional Nationalism of Burke and De Maistre, then on the Liberal Nationalism of Bentham and Mazzini, and finally on the Integral Nationalism of Maurras and Mussolini. Each type is carefully analyzed as a body of doctrines and as a set of attitudes. The last two chapters trace the Economic Factors in Nationalism and set forth the author's Conclusion. A quotation from the latter suggests the author's general argument (p. 308): "It seems a long way from Rousseau, Herder and Mazzini to Maurras, Hitler and Mussolini. . . . The former preached

against the very things which the latter are championing. Yet the latter appear to be a lineal projection of the former." Mr. Hayes shows that Humanitarian Nationalism came first chronologically, and that Jacobin, Traditionalist, and Liberal Nationalism arose from attempts to put Humanitarian Nationalism into action. Of these, Liberal Nationalism still inspires "backward" peoples and "Radicals", while Traditional Nationalism has had much influence on the rise of Integral Nationalism—the prevailing form to-day.

Each of the chapters is in itself closely reasoned and carefully built up though the book is more difficult to follow than Professor Hayes's *Essays on Nationalism*. This seems to arise from the fact that the relationships of the various types of nationalism are not always made sufficiently clear. The most original contribution is to be found in the discussion of the Economic Factors in Nationalism. One discovers in the concluding chapter, evidence of an idealism which one suspects led Professor Hayes, years ago, to undertake his important studies in nationalism. Indeed—although the work is written without any distorting bias—the author seems to write most clearly and most effectively when his moral indignation is most aroused. It is impossible in a brief review to give any adequate idea of this important study. It is the summary of many years of work of one of the ablest of our historians, and it will undoubtedly remain for long the most adequate survey of the theories of modern nationalism.

Oberlin College. FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

Revolutionsbriefe, 1848. Ungedrucktes aus dem Nachlass König Friedrich Wilhelms IV. von Preussen. Herausgegeben von Karl Haenchen. (Leipzig, K. F. Koehler, 1930, pp. 445, 15 M.) This collection of some two hundred and sixty hitherto unpublished documents from the Brandenburg-Prussian Hausarchiv at Charlottenburg is an interesting addition to the growing mass of printed sources for the German Revolution of 1848. It covers the period from the beginning of the year 1848 to the refusal of the imperial crown by King Frederick William IV. in April, 1849. The documents are of various types. There are some extracts from the entries in the daybook of the aid-de-camp on duty at the royal palace on March 18, 19, 20, and 21, adding some details to the famous events of those days. There are extracts from the protocols of the meetings of the Prussian council of ministers, notably that of April 2, 1849, called to consider the king's reply to the delegation from the Frankfort parliament. The bulk of the volume, however, is made up from the correspondence of King Frederick William.

From the documents, we can see some of the influences at work on Frederick William's policy, from the reactionary advice of his sister, the empress of Russia, and of King Ernest Augustus of Saxony, to the impassioned national appeals of Ernest Moritz Arndt and Hermann von

Beckerath. The difficulties of the king with his ministers and the perhaps greater difficulties of the ministers with their king appear especially in the correspondence with the ministers president and of foreign affairs. Even Count Brandenburg found his master difficult to serve. Above all stands the picture of the king himself—hardworking, conscientious, vigorous in expression but not in action, filled with a sense of his divine inspiration and moral duty, but, for a Hohenzollern, sadly lacking in political common sense.

The book is well edited. The notes give concise biographical data and references to other works which will provide the setting for the documents printed.

The University of Minnesota. LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

Glimpses of High Politics through War and Peace, 1855–1929: the Autobiography of N. V. Tcharykow, Serf-Owner, Ambassador, Exile. Foreword by Sir Bernard Pares, K.B.E. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. 330, $5.00.) This alluring title is probably a product of the publisher's imagination, rather than of the author's reasoned judgment. N. V. Charykov was unquestionably one of the most eminent Russian diplomats of the pre-war period. To say nothing of minor appointments, he was assistant minister of foreign affairs under Izvolski, 1908–1909, and ambassador to Constantinople in the critical years of the formation of the Balkan League, 1909–1912. No doubt he could have given some very illuminating "glimpses of high politics". But he did not choose to do so, either because, as an exile at Constantinople from 1918 to 1930, he did not have the papers necessary to reconstruct the story, or because he was unwilling to lift the veil. What he has actually written is an autobiography and a rather pleasing and interesting one. His picture of life in the days of dying serfdom and the reforms of the Czar Liberator, his account of his experiences in the war with Turkey in 1877–1878, and his narrative of activity in Central Asia in the years following Geok Tepe and the annexation of Merv, are unusual. They are straightforward and simple, and have much more intimacy than most stories of this type. But of the great days in his diplomatic career Charykov says almost nothing, at least nothing that he has not published elsewhere. We should have appreciated some detail regarding his relations with Izvolski in 1908–1909 and Stolypin's dramatic threat to resign if the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria were recognized. Some knowledge of the instructions that went to Izvolski on this occasion would be of great value. Charykov might also have said something of his negotiations with Turkey, both in 1909 and in 1911–1912, but he passes them with scarce a mention. For the student of diplomacy there is nothing to be gleaned from this volume. Even the Russian text of the Reichstadt Convention of 1876, which the author seems

to have believed unpublished, saw the light in the Krasny Arkhiv years ago. But the book gives a rather good idea of the life of the better Russian aristocrat, a man with moderately liberal views, an intense love of his country, and an interest in worth while things.

Harvard University. W. L. LANGER.

German Diplomatic Documents, 1871–1914. Selected and translated by E. T. S. Dugdale. Volume IV., *The Descent to the Abyss, 1911–1914.* With Introductions by the Rt. Hon. Sir Malcolm Robertson, G.C.M.G., formerly British Ambassador at Buenos Aires, and Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, K.C.B. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1931, pp. xxv, 394, $5.00.) This concluding volume of translated selections from the *Grosse Politik* has two introductions: the first, by a former ambassador, is singularly inadequate as an historical preface but does contain some valuable observations upon the intrinsic worth of diplomatic documents; the second, by an admiral, discusses the significance of naval affairs thus appropriately stressing the principal theme of the volume. Although the documents here printed are concerned with the varied phases of European relations from the Agadir incident to the Serajevo assassinations, no one aspect is so fully illustrated as that of the naval problem between Germany and England. Comparatively extensive extracts from the letters and reports of military and naval attachés make clear that our understanding of the immediate background of the war, particularly in its diplomatic complications, would be greatly improved and clarified by a better knowledge of military and naval interests.

In view of the commonly accepted notion that, as the crisis developed, militarism supplanted civilian authority and precipitated hostilities, it is evident that more should be known of the military and naval institutions of the period from 1895 to 1914. Our students of diplomatic relations as well, in fact, as those of general historical concerns are too frequently neglectful of military and naval technicalities. The recent trend against "drum and trumpet" history has caused one of the historian's useful tools to become unduly rusty.

So far as official documents offer valid evidence, those here presented leave little ground for uncertainty upon the much discussed question of whether Germany would have permitted Austria to precipitate war had she known that Britain would fight. Warnings were numerous and explicit that Britain would not stand aside if France were menaced. The German emperor left no doubt that he "quite definitely" expected British armed assistance for France.

Misprints and typographical errors appear to be more numerous in this volume than in any of the three preceding.

Amherst College. LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

Les Effets Économiques et Sociaux de la Guerre en Serbie. Par Dragolioub Yovanovitch, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur d'Économie Politique à l'Université de Belgrade. [Histoire Économique et Sociale de la Guerre Mondiale, Série Serbe, James T. Shotwell, Directeur.] (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, pp. xii, 334, 35 fr.) The introductory pages of this book describe briefly the geographical, agricultural, industrial, and intellectual conditions in Serbia on the eve of the World War, the period of military operations before the Serbian disaster, the occupation of the country by the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Bulgarian armies, the régimes established by Austrians and Bulgarians, and the end of the war, together with the liberation of Jugoslavia. Various chapters discuss the movements of the Serb population during the war, the effects of the war upon rural and urban conditions, upon the ways of communication, upon the riches destroyed or carried off, upon the social, intellectual, and moral life. A brief conclusion summarizes the negative and the positive consequences, the losses in material, men, and morale, the effects on economic life, social relations, and manner of living. A brief but annotated bibliography, one sketch map, and an index complete the volume.

It was difficult for the author to discuss these situations with entire impartiality. He does, however, attempt to discriminate somewhat between the different invaders of Serbia. The Bulgarians come in for the most severe arraignment, though the Germans, Austrians, and Magyars are described as terrible in their oppression. That the array of sources cited should be overwhelmingly Serbian is natural. Several French writers of Serbian leanings are included and one or two slight references to American and Austrian authorities are made in the footnotes. No Bulgarian authorities are even mentioned. One would expect a Bulgarian to write certain pages (23, 24, etc.) somewhat differently. We must accept the author's view, therefore, with modifications.

Cambridge. ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc. Par Ch. André Julien, Professeur Agrégé d'Histoire au Lycée Janson de Sailly, Secrétaire Général de la *Revue Historique.* Préface de Stéphane Gsell, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur d'Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord au Collège de France. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1931, pp. xvi, 866, 120 fr.) This solid and interesting book is potentially of even more value to some groups likely to miss it than to the specialists in western Mediterranean and Moslem history who are certain to discover it. Professor Gsell remarks in the preface that it is the first treatise on the entire history of this geographically unified area, which has played so critical a part at various times in the evolution of our Occidental civilization. Far from being either

a mere narrative or a mere explanation, it is also a broad trail blazed through a wilderness of controversies about a process of development with amazing ups and downs. After being read through it will be frequently consulted with the aid of an excellent index recording names of persons and places. The many illustrations really illuminate the text, to which they are carefully fitted. An analytic bibliography covering seventy-seven pages, free from dead wood, will prove a first-rate instrument for getting under the skin of Mediterranean and Moslem history. It is perhaps a happy accident that the first complete and scholarly synthesis of the history of an area chronically "imperialized" in ancient, medieval, and modern times should be written by a man whose impulses are against all unnecessary interference with native life from outside. Professor Julien's is not the conventional "anti-imperialism of the chair", but that of the long-time resident of the country he writes about, knowing the texts and also knowing by experience at what points these are "anaemic reflections of a vigorous reality".

A history of North Africa should be, and here is, a history of most of the Mediterranean from an unusual and most illuminating angle. The significance in the long run of certain peculiarities of the Mediterranean economic environment comes out clearly where these characteristics of climate, soil, topography, and natural resources are somewhat exaggerated. Especially does the consideration of this exceptionally dry and unified area through a long period of time tend to separate the effects of basic geography from the maze of other factors. North African history is much less complicated than that of the eastern Mediterranean by mere position between other rich regions which have always needed to trade with each other. A century of French colonial enterprise in North Africa has expensively demonstrated how difficult it is for an outsider to make a living, especially from the soil, in the Mediterranean fringe. The same bias and many of the same specific illusions which have bankrupted so many colonists from wetter regions discolor the whole fabric of many of our general works on European history. Here is a book which, if carefully read, will do much to remind the reader from a rainier environment of his natural errors of interpretation; and will save him the trouble and annoyance of reading most of the economic explanations of the rise and fall of ancient civilizations around the Mediterranean.

The University of California. M. M. KNIGHT.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume LXIII., October, 1929–June, 1930. (Boston, the Society, 1931, pp. xvi, 647.) The most substantial portions of the volume are two articles concerning the development of political theory in colonial Massachusetts, one by Professor C. H. McIlwain on the Transfer of the Charter to New England and its

Significance in American Constitutional History, the other by Mr. F. W. Grinnell on John Winthrop and the Constitutional Thinking of John Adams. Mr. W. O. Sawtelle gives an excellent history of Governor Thomas Pownall. Dr. C. E. Banks argues, with much knowledge, but certainly not *sine ira et studio,* against the belief that the Puritan emigration to New England was caused by anything that can properly be called persecution. Rev. Dr. H. W. Foote writes of Rev. George Phillips, first minister of Watertown. Mr. John T. Morse's memorial of Moorfield Storey is easily the most attractive piece of writing in the book. Half of the volume is occupied with the letters, 1770–1799, of Rev. William Gordon, historian of the Revolution, letters containing much interesting gossip and some more solid information, but hardly worth so much space.

The society has also issued the twelfth volume of its reprint of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* (pp. xvi, 231), presenting the record of the four sessions of 1734–1735.

J. F. J.

Vieille Amérique: la Louisiane au Temps des Français. Par Georges Oudard. (Paris, Plon, 1931, pp. 305, 15 fr.) The author of this very interesting monograph has published several novels and political essays, as well as biographies of John Law and Peter the Great. It was, doubtless, the research incident to the life of Law which suggested the present work.

Of his fourteen chapters, two are devoted to the Canadian background, one to the explorations of La Salle. As might be expected, the book is somewhat romantic in style, though accurate enough in its broader aspects. Such inaccuracies as occur relate mostly to details, like distances in America, about which the author is frequently vague. Likewise, he makes the *filles à la cassette* arrive too soon (p. 145). Often the spelling of American words is incorrect, for example, "blacksettlers" for "backwoodsmen" (p. 272). A whole chapter is devoted to the earlier life of John Law, with less space to Law's relation to the colonization of Louisiana. This is perhaps but to be expected of the biographer of Law. It is one of several examples of what might be called "misplaced emphasis", which occur in the volume.

The style is decidedly interesting, vivid, and rapid. The book should serve to arouse in French readers a desire to know more of the history of America. There are no footnotes or index, but there is a good map and also a very full bibliography of manuscript and printed sources, in both French and English, though there are a few notable omissions. The tone of the book is very fair, both to the various nationalities involved and to individuals. But it seems a trifle severe to say of Lamothe-Cadillac: "Had age enfeebled his faculties? He managed to conceal them so well, one cannot say" (p. 115).

M. Oudard is at his best in describing social conditions in general and festivities and ceremonies in particular. Like Laussat, he takes leave of Louisiana with a sigh of regret.

Hamilton College. MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

British Administration of the Southern Indians, 1756–1783. By Helen Louise Shaw. (Lancaster, Lancaster Press, 1931, pp. xix, 205.) This is a doctoral dissertation, and an excellent one. For the first time we have available a detailed and thoroughly documented study of an important branch of English colonial administration, covering a comparatively brief, though critical, period. Dr. Shaw has delved deeply into the sources and has presented an unimpeachable description of the machinery of Indian administration in the southern district. The organization of the department under Edmund Atkin and his successor John Stuart has been touched upon by other writers, though not with the profusion of detail characteristic of the present work. In the reviewer's opinion the most significant contribution is found in the analysis of the financial phases of Indian administration, which, as the author suggests, ranks the department "as a branch of the imperial administration". There is likewise much new information and interpretation relative to the conduct of Indian affairs in the South during the Revolution. The result of England's Indian policy on the Spanish frontier in the cataclysm of war is depicted as dismal failure—a failure due to the incapacity of men rather than to the inadequacy of the structure of administration.

The Indian boundary line receives little attention, but the fact is pointed out that this subject is under investigation by other scholars. There is no index, though the volume is prefaced by an analytical table of contents. The value of the work is enhanced by the appending of a number of important documents illustrative of the various financial phases of Indian administration.

Washington, D. C. C. E. CARTER.

The Great Trek. By Owen Cochran Coy, Professor of History, University of Southern California, Director, California State Historical Association. [California Series, edited by John Russell McCarthy.] (Los Angeles, Powell Publishing Company, 1931, pp. 349, $5.00.) This volume plays its part in the series entitled California by dealing in popular fashion with the gold rush across the continent (1849–1853), supplementing Coy's *Gold Days,* Hunt and Ament's *Oxcart to Airplane,* to complete the picture of California in the Days of Gold. Those to whom the series is addressed will find an interest in every page; the student of Western history will appreciate the three maps "Western Trails of the Gold Rush Days", "Trails through

the Great Basin", and "Trans-Sierra Trails"; he will also profit by the extracts from several manuscript diaries of the overland journey not heretofore exploited, those, for example, of J. M. Hixson, C. V. Stuart, E. A. Tompkins, H. M. Carpenter, and C. J. Couts.

Chapters I. and II. relate specifically to the historical background of the Santa Fé and Oregon trails; the former practically a long quotation from Gregg and the latter a similar quotation from Hastings. This use of scissors, necessitated, evidently, by the time limit fixed by the publishers of the series, serves the author's purpose also in the succeeding four chapters relating to experiences on the central, or Oregon-California, route. In writing chapters VIII. and X., dealing with the southern routes to California, the author was less handicapped and tells interestingly that more neglected phase of the transcontinental rush. In a last chapter, under the title Lights and Shadows of the Overland Journey, Dr. Coy pictures the ups and downs of trail and camp ground experience; among these topics those least familiar to many are: Prairie Postal Service, The Mirage, Relief Measures, and Ravages of Cholera.

The book is concluded with a bibliography of 154 titles of which forty-two carry 1849 or 1850 date lines; the omission of Charles Kelley's important *Salt Desert Trails* may cause some questioning, as well as the omission of the reviewer's six volumes of overland trail maps, *Transcontinental Trails*. It is embellished with fifteen woodcuts by Franz Geritz of trail experiences bearing such titles as "A Difficult Crossing", "Water!" and "Life and Death". The book has a good index.

Colorado College. ARCHER B. HULBERT.

High Stakes and Hair Trigger: the Life of Jefferson Davis. By Robert W. Winston. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1930, pp. viii, 306, $3.50.) The title of this volume indicates its character. The author, who produced a very creditable biography of Andrew Johnson, has forsaken the sober approach and gone in for popular writing. Such chapter headings as Brass Buttons, Ragtag and Bobtail, and Rivet in Grandfather's Neck, are considerably worse than the chapters themselves, but are in keeping with a quantity of errors which render the work decidedly doubtful as a contribution to scholarship. These errors begin with misspelled words and wrong dates and end with actual distorting of quotations. Bell and Everett are presented as the candidates of the Know-Nothing party in 1860; the date of the Battle of Gettysburg is given as July 1 and 2; Roger A. Pryor appears as "Prior", Gideon Welles as "Wells"; ficticious conversations are reported and a dozen or more quotations are amended by additions or omissions and in some cases given quite a different meaning from that of the original.

The general thesis of the book is interesting and, in part, of value.

Judge Winston pictures Jefferson Davis as a typical Southern aristocrat, responsible to a large degree for the developments which ended in civil war, and in no small part for the failure of the Confederacy. His personality, his training, and his inability to judge men were burdens which the new nation, already struggling under the fatal handicaps of state rights and slavery, could not bear. Davis was as well fitted as any man in the South to lead the cause of "caste and privilege", but neither man nor principles were in accord with the great majority of common men who made up the heart of the South.

The second contention is more sound and is not weakened by exaggeration and the jumbling of facts to produce effects. It is that Reconstruction and the humiliation of a proud people brought a new unity to the South; that the persecution of Davis by the Federal government made him in the days after 1865 the symbol of a cause that was more holy than the one for which he had fought and brought to him in the quiet days at Belvoir a respect and support that had earlier been wanting. The North had restored to Davis the popularity which had been his only in the first flush of war days.

The University of Chicago. AVERY O. CRAVEN.

Carl Schurz, Militant Liberal. By Joseph Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.] (Evansville, Antes Press, 1930, pp. xxi, 270, $2.25.) Carl Schurz, who as a student sat at the feet of some of Germany's greatest liberals and fought in the popular uprising of 1848–1849, lived to receive in 1905 the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Wisconsin and to be entertained by the reform governor of the state, Robert M. La Follette. It is therefore fitting that the Historical Society of that state, in which so many of his countrymen found a home, should recognize the centenary of his birth by a biography from the pen of the superintendent.

For historical purposes, however, the centenary came some years too soon. Schurz was so intimately connected with politics for half a century that not until the secrets of political campaigns, cabinet-making manipulations, party conventions, and the mixed motives of reformers are divulged, can his relation to the larger sweep of events be appraised. But this generalization applies only to the post-Civil War period. The first fourteen chapters, which deal with his career in Europe and America until 1865, rest upon a solid foundation. The author has discovered and utilized new documents pertaining to the participation of Schurz in the stirring events of 'forty-nine. His unrivaled knowledge of the party situation in Wisconsin and the Old Northwest enables Dr. Schafer to analyze the perplexing con-

fusion of Yankee, German, and Irish groups in public life which made it possible for Schurz five years after his arrival in America to be the candidate of the Republican party for the lieutenant-governorship of Wisconsin in 1857, and three years later to contribute to the election of Abraham Lincoln, whose nomination he had not favored. The six chapters that follow are necessarily more suggestive than definitive; students seeking a subject for a dissertation can read them with profit. The care that has been taken in verifying many statements in Schurz's *Reminiscences* is an object lesson in how certain types of material must be handled.

Dr. Schafer, although a centenary biographer, is not blind to those traits of his subject's character which so often exasperated his contemporaries. But, on the other hand, the versatility and energy in thought and action which caused Schurz's associates to describe him as "that tremendous Dutchman" are clearly revealed.

The book is designated as volume I. of the Wisconsin Biography series. That is a welcome promise. But it is unfortunate that the state of Wisconsin which so generously supports historical activities does not provide printing and binding more pleasing to the eye.

The University of Illinois. MARCUS L. HANSEN.

Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War. By Edward Needles Wright. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931, pp. vii, 274, $3.00.) Mr. Wright's study of the *Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War* was begun as a doctoral thesis in history at the University of Pennsylvania. An introductory chapter presents a short sketch of the early history of the noncombatant religious sects in America. A final chapter on the conflict of the draft authorities with pacifists during the World War is introduced, as the author explains, for a comparative point of view. The body of the work is concerned almost entirely, more certainly than the title would indicate, with the resistance offered by the Society of Friends to the draft, North and South, during the Civil War. The other religious organizations adjusted themselves to the ways of escape allowed by the commutation fee and the privilege of furnishing substitutes. The author concludes that many members of Congress had the conscientious objector in mind in supporting devices for securing exemption from service. Evidence is painstakingly sifted in order to arrive at relative conclusions regarding the attitude of the administration, Congress, and military officials toward the noncombatants in the Confederacy and the Union. A few military men come in for severe criticism. President Davis, like President Wilson, held aloof from such details. The patience and liberality of President Lincoln, who did find time to soften the administration of the draft system, is praised. It seems that the younger generation of the noncombatant religious sects is

abandoning the pacifism which the elders held paramount. During the World War eighty per cent. of the religious objectors who were furnished with noncombatant certificates by local draft boards failed to claim exemption from combatant service. The Mennonites predominated among the religious objectors in the World War. During the Civil War the authorities were dealing with small sects founded on conscientious objection as a principle but whose control of the younger generation was already showing signs of weakening; during the World War the real problem was a noncombatant class brought into existence by economic, social, and political causes. The chapter on the World War can not claim to be an adequate treatment of the more complicated issue that arises in war time in a modern industrial state. For the Civil War Mr. Wright's monograph will serve very well. He falls down on only one part of his announcement at the beginning and that is "to ascertain their numbers". For that the sources and not the author's industry are at fault.

Western Reserve University. ELBERT J. BENTON.

The Martial Spirit: a Study of our War with Spain. By Walter Millis. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931, pp. xii, 427, $4.00.) The Spanish-American War had all the elements of a paradox. It marked the transition of a frontier society with an agrarian viewpoint into an industrial state upon which was forced the necessity for a world viewpoint. Mr. Millis has told the story of this transition period against a background that makes it possible to understand the causes and motives of the leaders and their supporters. The tone, however, is satirical; it is at once scornful, condescending, and supercilious. In spite of the evidence of extensive research the author has made no effort to study the period in the spirit of the times. It is the attitude of a captious critic that vitiates much of the real value which the book otherwise possesses.

The narrative discloses a war conditioned on the needs of two great newspapers struggling for circulation, fostered by party politicians who saw in the situation an opportunity for political profit, and which was precipitated by a coincidence that even to-day remains a mystery. In this day of "debunking", often for its own sake, it is remarkable that the Spanish-American War has had to wait so long for iconoclastic attention. The author displays a bitter and seemingly unnecessary animus toward Roosevelt and Lodge. McKinley is a "cautious statesman", with "no more backbone than a chocolate éclair", who could only wring his hands and trust the nation's affairs in Cuba to Fitzhugh Lee, "a minor diplomatic official" of "choleric" and "bellicose temperament". Alger is passed by as being of no consequence, while Long is continually compromised by the unauthorized acts of his ambitious subordinate, Roosevelt. On the other hand, the

author believes that "history has been unjust" to Shafter, the three-hundred-pound commanding general. He is the one hero of the play, so far as there is a hero, who was a victim of newspaper correspondents and of General Joe Wheeler's "individualistic strategy".

The book may please those who can find nothing much to praise in the history of a country they yet prefer to live in; its very spirit and manner of statement will not convince the student without better authority than is given. Obvious incompetence and the bizarre are emphasized; the positive and constructive effort contributed by the private citizen and the soldier of the rank and file is hardly mentioned. There are no footnotes, but there is a bibliography and a satisfactory index. The book is well printed and illustrated by contemporary cartoons and photographs.

Great Neck, New York. THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

Broken Hand: the Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men. By LeRoy R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent. (Denver, Old West Publishing Company, 1931, pp. xi, 316, $7.50.) It is no criticism of this volume to say that it is scarcely a biography in the ordinary sense of the word. True, the career of Thomas Fitzpatrick is the central theme, but owing to the scantiness of the records his figure is a shadowy one, especially during the earlier years. The authors have really given us a picture of the West beyond the Missouri River from the period of the early 1820's to about 1854, selecting scenes and episodes relating to an important but relatively unknown personality in the history of the region, a method which has much to commend it.

Like many others who have attained prominence in Indian affairs, Thomas Fitzpatrick was not a native American but was born in Ireland in 1799. He appeared in St. Louis in the winter of 1822–1823 and from that time his career was identified with the frontier. He began as a fur trader and on early expeditions distinguished himself as an explorer of new routes. In 1824, along with Jedediah Smith, he reached South Pass. He became head of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company but later abandoned the trade as conditions became less favorable. Between 1841 and 1846, he served as guide to emigrant trains and other expeditions, including those of Frémont and Kearny.

The most interesting and important part of the volume is that which describes Fitzpatrick's career as Indian agent for the Upper Platte and Arkansas, a position which he held from 1846 to 1854. A dramatic climax is the account of the great council at Fort Laramie in 1851, at which Fitzpatrick was present and which is estimated to have been attended by some ten thousand Indians. Manuscript materials from the Indian Office and elsewhere have been drawn upon for these latter chapters. As Indian agent, Fitzpatrick had very definite ideas as to the principles which should

govern the contact between the red men and whites. He had a rather low opinion of the character of the former, though he insisted upon honesty and fair dealing. His earlier career had given him an unrivaled knowledge of Indian psychology. The general reader as well as the special student will be chiefly interested in the volume as a description of life in the West and as a chapter in the history of the contact of races in America. The authors have told a highly entertaining story and one can not fail to be impressed, incidentally, by their intimate knowledge of Western geography and Indian life.

Dartmouth College. WAYNE E. STEVENS.

Documents relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. B. Tyrrell, M.A., LL.D. [Publications of the Champlain Society, XVIII.] (Toronto, the Society, 1931, pp. xix, 419.) The long struggle between France and England for control of North America had violent repercussions in the far north, and from the close of 1668 to the peace of Utrecht in 1713, the primeval silence of the Hudson Bay country was frequently broken by the booming of cannon among the icebergs, and the tramp of miniature armies struggling for possession of strategic posts along the bay. In this volume are reprinted four of the sources for the history of this phase of the Anglo-French struggle.

The journal of Father Silvy describes his voyage from Quebec to York factory and return in 1684–1685. The second selection is a letter of Father Marest, chaplain of the French expedition to York factory in 1694. Both accounts contain many references to climate and geography, to the difficulties of navigation, and to the life of the Indians and Eskimos in the Hudson Bay country.

The third section consists of the first nine chapters of La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale,* which describe the French expedition of 1697 to recapture York factory. Though La Potherie apologizes for his narrative as "nothing but storms, battles and ship-wrecks", he deals with the fishing methods of Newfoundland, the trading habits of the natives, the missions around Quebec, and includes an account of the ravages of scurvy which is simply hideous in its gruesome details. The least interesting selection is a part of John Oldmixon's *The British Empire in America* (1708) dealing with Hudson Bay.

The first three selections are printed in the original French, with good English translations. The editor has written brief biographical sketches of the authors. His historical introduction includes a reprint of the only English account of the siege of York factory. There are a number of maps and illustrations. The volume is well indexed, and is up to the high standard of workmanship expected of the Champlain Society publications.

The Ohio State University. CARL WITTKE.

Liberalism in Mexico, 1857–1929. By Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, Professor of History, University of South Carolina. (Stanford University Press, 1931, pp. xiii, 410, $5.00.) The author of this volume has not confined himself strictly to the subject proposed in the title. The work is really a history of Mexico between the years 1857 and 1929, with special emphasis upon the Church and the program of the liberals. For this reason, and because of the lack of convenient summaries, the story is at times difficult to follow.

The titles of nine of the fifteen chapters contain the names of Mexico's presidents from Juárez to Calles; but in a work which proposes to discuss liberalism in Mexico, it is difficult to justify almost three chapters on Porfirio Díaz, who can hardly be called a liberal, and still another chapter on Victoriano Huerta, who most certainly was not a liberal. It is true that neither of these men could be ignored, chiefly because they were obstacles to the progress of the liberal movement in Mexico, but there seems to be no good reason for elevating them to the dignity of a chapter heading. The other chapters contain discussions of the constitution of 1857 and its reception, the Three Years' War which followed, French intervention, social conditions (1900-1910), and the contemporary struggle between church and state.

Despite such defects, the book is an important contribution to the recent history of Mexico. The author has good judgment and his work is characterized by rigid impartiality. Moreover, it is based on an extensive investigation of the sources and secondary authorities, although the reader will search in vain for any reference to Powell's *Railways of Mexico* or Dublán y Lozano's *Legislación Mexicana.*

Duke University. J. Fred Rippy.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Of the publications of the Association the *Writings on American History* for 1928, and the *Annual Report* for 1930, are now being distributed. The *Writings* for 1929 will soon be ready for distribution. Vol. III. of the *Annual Report,* a guide to material for the study of British Caribbean history, 1763-1834, will also soon be ready.

The initial volume of the series sponsored by the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund is entitled *Southern Editorials on Secession.* The editor is Assistant Professor Dwight L. Dumond, of the University of Michigan, and the publishers are the Century Company. The price is $4.00.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association proposes to begin next March the publication of the *Pacific Historical Review.* This journal will appear quarterly and will devote its attention not merely to the Western states of the United States, but also to the Pacific states of South America, to Australia, and to the Far East. One number will take the place of the *Proceedings* for the publication of papers read at the annual meeting. The chairman of the publication committee is John C. Parish, of the University of California at Los Angeles. The other members are Professors Donald G. Barnes, University of Washington, Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon, George P. Hammond, University of Southern California, Louis K. Koontz, University of California at Los Angeles, and Percy A. Martin, Stanford University. The subscription price of the *Review* will be $4.00 per year.

PERSONAL

John Alfred Faulkner, the Church historian, died on September 6, at the age of 74. His theological studies were pursued at Drew Theological Seminary and at Andover Seminary, and abroad at the universities of Leipzig and Bonn. Since 1897 he had been professor of Church history at Drew Theological Seminary. He was a member of the American Historical Association and of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Nova Scotia being the land of his birth. He was devoted to the interests of the American Society of Church History, serving for many years as a member of its executive committee and for one term as president. He was a prolific writer. He wrote large sections of Bishop Hurst's *History of the Christian Church.* He dealt largely also with the history of the Methodist Church. His pamphlet on *The Value of the Study of Church History* is highly regarded.

James Sullivan, recently Assistant Commissioner of Higher and Professional Education in the state of New York, died on October 9, at the age of 58. Dr. Sullivan received his graduate, as well as his undergraduate, degrees from Harvard University. He afterwards studied at the École des Chartes in Paris and at the University of Berlin. His principal work as a teacher was done in the high schools of New York and Brooklyn. From 1907 to 1916 he was principal of the Boys' High School of Brooklyn. In 1916 he became State Historian and Director of Archives. After 1923 he served in the state department of education first as Assistant Commissioner of Secondary Education and finally as Assistant Commissioner of Higher and Professional Education. From the latter position he retired because of failing health a few months before his death.

Henry Barrett Learned, of Washington, died suddenly at Stanford University on October 11, at the age of 63. In earlier life he had taught at Harvard and at Yale, and in recent years, during various semesters, at Stanford University, but he was in the main a *Privatgelehrter,* living in Washington, and serving public interests as member and chairman of the Board of Education and in other capacities. His best known publication was his book on *The President's Cabinet* (1912), but he was also a frequent contributor to this journal. His services to the American Historical Association, as chairman during twelve years of the Committee on Publications and in other ways, were of great value and were performed, as were all other actions of his life, with faithfulness, deliberate care, prudence, fairness, and consideration.

Benjamin Stuytes Terry died on October 30, at the age of 74. He began his career as a minister in the Baptist Church. His interest in historical studies took him to Göttingen and to Freiburg where he completed his work for the doctorate. In 1892 he became professor of English history at the University of Chicago, where he taught until his retirement as professor emeritus. He was author of *A History of England from the Earliest Times to the Death of Victoria* (1901).

William Richard Lethaby, distinguished for his studies of medieval art, died on July 17. He was born in 1857. For twenty-two years he was Surveyor of the Fabric of Westminster Abbey. His most important work was *Medieval Art from the Peace of the Church to the Eve of the Renaissance* (1904). His latest works were *Westminster Abbey Revisited* (1925) and *Medieval Plays at Westminster* (1928). He also contributed to the *Cambridge Medieval History.*

The following promotions may be noted: *Louisiana Polytechnic Institute,* G. W. McGinty, to be professor of American history and head of the department of social science; *West Virginia University,* J. D. Barnhart, to be associate professor.

Announcement is made of further changes in university connection, effective since the opening of the year 1931–1932: *University of Cincinnati,* John L. La Monte, of the University of Minnesota, to be assistant professor; *Long Island University,* H. Borton Butcher, of the University of Tennessee, to be assistant professor.

Dr. Charles A. Beard will lecture during the winter term at the California Institute of Technology. His subject will be Representative Government in a Technological Age.

Dr. Kathleen Bruce, of the College of William and Mary, is on leave of absence during the current year as Research Associate of the Museum of Science and Industry of Chicago.

Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, of Ottawa, has recently received two medals in recognition of his work in Canadian history. One was the Tyrrell Medal, presented by the Royal Society of Canada. The other was *la médaille de vermeil* given by the French Academy. This carries with it the title of Lauréat de l'Institut.

Mr. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Consultant in Biography at the Library of Congress, is to be at the Huntington Library in the spring for two months to examine the Fields Collection and to advise as to its best use in the interest of scholars.

Mr. Hubert Hall, formerly Keeper of the Public Record Office, London, is now in residence at the Huntington Library, to advise with the officers upon the problems of classifying and cataloguing the British documents in its collections. His stay is to be from two to three months.

Professor Carl Wittke has been invited by the Committee of the Deutsche Akademie in Munich upon Cultural Relations between Germany and America to give a series of lectures on American history as part of the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of George Washington's birth. These lectures are to be given at several German universities and are later to be published.

Dr. James Morton Callahan has completed a volume on *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations.* It is now in press (Macmillan).

GENERAL

General review: A. Dufourcq, M. Hyacinthe Laurent, Ephrem Longpré, *Chronique d'Histoire Religieuse,* VII., VIII. (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Apr.).

The *American Political Science Review* will become a bimonthly with its issue of February.

At the fifth annual meeting of the Business Historical Society, Dec. 11, Professor Frederick Merk, of Harvard University, delivered an address on The Historian's Use of Business Manuscripts.

Under the auspices of the Royal Historical Society and in memory of the Rev. David Berry a prize is to be awarded in 1934 for the best essay on "The Resources of the Scottish Crown in its struggle with the Baronage from the reign of James I. to the reign of James IV., or some subject selected by a candidate dealing with Scottish History within the reigns of James I. to James VI., inclusive, provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Council of the Royal Historical Society." An essay already published or which has received a prize will not be eligible. The date of delivery to the secretary of the Royal Historical Society at 22, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1, is Oct. 31, 1934.

The World Peace Foundation has published a descriptive list of *Courses on International Affairs in American Colleges, 1930–1931*, edited by Farrell Symons, with an introduction by James T. Shotwell (Boston, pp. xviii, 353).[1] At the close of the volume are tabular summaries, which facilitate the use of the list.

The *Annual Review, 1930*, of the International Labour Office (Geneva, International Labour Office; Boston, World Peace Foundation, pp. xii, 505, $3.00), is the first of a series which is to survey each year the principal events in the fields of labor legislation. Hitherto this has constituted the second section of the *Report* of the director. Probably the chapter to which the reader will promptly turn is that entitled The Economic Situation, dealing with the phenomena of the present world-wide depression.

There has been no great general work on Jewish history since that of Grätz in the '70s and '80s of the last century. Such an undertaking has now been made accessible to Western readers through the authorized translation from Russian into German by A. Steinberg of Simon Dubnow's extensive *Weltgeschichte des Jüdischen Volkes, von seinen Uranfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin, Jüdischer Verlag, 10 vols.). Dubnow's standpoint is autonomist and antitheological.

To the eight volumes upon systems of civic education in as many nations, Professor Charles E. Merriam, the general editor of the series, has added a volume of interpretation with the title of *The Making of Citizens: a Comparative Study of Methods of Civic Training* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. xv, 371, $3.00). In order that his interpretation might have the basis of personal observation he has visited the countries concerned. His chapter of Summary and Conclusions is especially helpful.

Articles: Felice Alderisio, *La Politica del Machiavelli nella Rivalutazione dello Hegel e del Fichte* (N. Riv. Stor., May); Friedrich Meinecke,

[1] Books, reviews, and other publications mentioned in this section are of 1931 unless otherwise indicated.

Montesquieu, Boulainvilliers, Dubos: ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Historismus (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLV. 1); Solomon Zeitlin, *The Origin of the Synagogue: a Study in the Development of Jewish Institutions* (Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, 1930–1931).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: A. Besnier, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne Grecque et Romaine* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., July); P. Roussel, *Bulletin Épigraphique* (Rev. des Études Grecques, June).

Reports of recent excavations and finds are numerous. In *Antiquity* for September, R. de Mecquenem reports the excavations at Susa in Persia with interesting evidence of the coming of the horse into Mesopotamia earlier than had been believed. J. W. Crowfoot gives an account of the work this spring of the Joint Expedition to Samaria-Sebaste in the *Palestine Exploration Fund* for July. In *Klio,* XXIV. 3, F. Schachermeyr reviews recent discoveries at Cyprus and Byblus. The new finds in the harbor of the Piraeus are discussed by H. Schrader in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy, 1931. P. Orsi, in *Il Mondo Classico,* I. 2, gives a Notiziario Archeologico on eastern Sicily, while E. Beninger, in *Forschungen und Fortschritte,* VII. 12, reports new results of research in Lower Austria. News Items from Athens, by E. P. B., and News Items from Rome, by A. W. V. B., in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for September, are valuable summaries. Excavations at Ostia are reported by G. Calza in the *Bullettino di Filologia Classica,* n. s., I. 8, while notice of important new sources for the study of the social, economic, and religious history of this port town, is given in the *Illustrated London News* of Aug. 8, in a description of the newly discovered tombs of the *isola sacra.* In the July 18 number of the same journal figures a group of tomb finds of the seventh to fifth centuries B.C. at Camirus, in Rhodes, and Iron Age finds of the same date from pre-Roman Styria; the issue of Nov. 7 has a description of a fourth dynasty tomb from Egypt, of Ny-Hep, son of King Seneferu. In the New York *Times* of Nov. 22, Sir Arthur Keith describes the recently excavated city of Mohenjo Daro in the Indus Valley. Note also S. Lambrino, Histria Romaine à la Lumière des Fouilles (*Rev. des Études Latines,* IX. 1).

Special studies in the criticism of historical sources appear in L. Gernet, Notes on Andocide (*Rev. de Philol.,* Oct.); M. Holleaux, Études d'Histoire Hellénistique: la Clause Territoriale du Traité d'Apamée, 188 B.C. (*Rev. des Études Grecques,* Sept.); and Notes sur Tite-Live: le Caduceator envoyé par Philippe V. (*Rev. de Philol.,* July); W. Judeich, Die Ueberlieferung der Varusschlacht (*Rhein. Museum,* LXXX. 3); and W. Reusch, Der Historisches Wert der Caracallavita (*Klio,* Beiheft XI.).

W. Schwahn, Die Xenophontischen Poroi und die Athenische Industrie im Vierten Jahrhundert (*Rhein. Museum,* LXXX. 3), holds against Oertel that the pseudo-Xenophontic work is not a sound source for the study of Athenian capitalism. Note also Fr. Heichelheim, Die Ausbreitung der Münzgeldwirtschaft im Archaischen Griechenland (Schmoller's *Jahrb.,* LV. 2).

Professor Grant Showerman's *Rome and the Romans* (New York, Macmillan, $5.00) is a lively survey which gathers into the space of 648 pages of large print a great deal of information about various aspects of the history and institutions of the Romans—political, social, religious, and domestic—their daily life, amusements, and literature, as well as some description of the effect of their civilizing influence upon the provinces. It begins with a short description of the Italy and Rome of to-day, and, correspondingly, ready comparisons with modern modes and institutions appear throughout the volume, which is distinctly a work of popularization in a rather discursive style. It has, however, a wide range of material, apposite quotations from ancient authors, is well illustrated, and has a useful bibliography and index.

Professor Carl Holliday, of San Jose State College, under the title of *The Dawn of Literature* (New York, Crowell, pp. x, 367, $3.50), has sketched the ancient literatures of Egypt, Palestine, Babylon and Assyria, Persia, India, and China. He has illustrated their characteristics by selections from their best known classics, given in standard English translations.

The British Historical Association has published *A List of Books in the English Language on Ancient History for the Use of Teachers in Schools.* It is compiled by Norman H. Baynes, F.B.A. (London, Bell, pp. 16).

Articles: P. Dhorme, *Abraham dans le Cadre d'Histoire* (Rev. Biblique, Oct.); A. H. Sayce, *The Libraries of David and Solomon* (Jour. Royal As. Soc., Oct.); F. Wachsmut, *Zum Problem der Hethitischen und Mitannischen Baukunst* (Jahrb. d. Deut. Arch. Inst., XLVI. 1–2); E. Bethe, *Troia, Mykene, Agamemnon und sein Grosskönigtum* (Rhein. Museum, LXXX. 3); Georges Seure, *A la Recherche d'Ithaque et de Troie,* I., II. [to be cont.] (Jour. des Sav., May, Aug., Oct.); H. T. Wade-Gery, *Studies in the Structure of Attic Society,* I., *Demotionidai* (Class. Quar., Oct.); D. Cohen, *Alexander de Groote en Egypte* (Tijdschr. voor Geschied., XLVI. 3); G. di Sanctis, *Una Lettera a Demetrio Poliorcete* (Riv. di Filol., Sept.); M. Rostovtzeff, *Trois Inscriptions d'Époque Hellénistique de Théangéla en Carie,* II. (Rev. d'Études Anc., Sept.); C. Saumagne, *Les Prétextes Juridiques de la Troisième Guerre Punique,* I. (Rev. Hist., Aug.); B. L. Hallward, *Cicero Historicus* (Cam. Hist. Jour., III. 3); G. C. Speziale, *The Roman Anchors found at Nemi* [illustrated] (Mariner's Mirror, Oct.);

J. Lengle, *Die Verurteilung der Römischen Feldherrn von Arausio* (Hermes, July); J. Hagen, *Römerstrassen der Rheinprovinz* (Forschungen und Fortschritte, VII. 12); E. Schönbauer, *Reichsrecht gegen Volksrecht?* [significance of the Constitutio Antoniniana for the history of Roman law] (Zeitsch. Sav. Rechtsgeschichte, Rom. Abt., 1931).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The London publisher, Constable, announces a new historical series entitled Makers of the Middle Ages. These works are intended both for the medievalist and the general reader. The first volume to appear in this series is by Ernest Kantorowicz and its subject is *Frederick the Second, 1194–1250.* The American publisher is Richard R. Smith. Among other volumes proposed are: *The See of Canterbury,* by A. Hamilton Thompson; *Saint Columban,* by Robin Fowler; *Boethius,* by E. K. Rand; *Gregory the Great,* by R. A. B. Mynors; and *Boniface VIII.,* by T. S. R. Boase.

Of the *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien* the first volume, just issued by the Paris publisher, Sirey, is entitled *De la Réforme Carolingienne à la Réforme Grégorienne,* and the editors are P. Fournier and G. Le Bras.

The four articles of the July issue of *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* are of special interest to medievalists. D. M. Cappuyns in Le plus Ancien Commentaire des "Opuscula Sacra" et son Origine concludes that a critical examination of the manuscript sources proves a definite unity between *Opuscula* I., II., III., V. and IV.; that the author of the *Commentum,* though familiar with the work of John Scotus Erigena, is not John himself; and that the real author is Remi of Auxerre (867–891). The other articles are: Théologie et Théologiens de l'École Épiscopale de Paris avant Pierre Lombard, by F. Bliemetzrieder; Recherches sur les Écrits de Pierre le Mangeur, by A. Landgraf; and a note, Le XV^{e} Centenaire de Saint Augustin, by D. B. Capelle.

The *Historische Zeitschrift* has just published as its twenty-second Beiheft a monograph on Kardinal Hugo Candidus, by Franz Lerner. It is a welcome addition to the material dealing with the period of the investiture struggle.

La Chanson de Guillaume de Tudèle, the first of three volumes to be published under the general title of *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise,* is no. 13 of the series called Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France (Paris, Champion). It is edited and translated by Eugène Martin-Chabot, archivist at the Archives Nationales.

In the *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Hist.-Philos. Klasse, XVII.-XX., 1931, P. Kehr explains the present status of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*

Pt. 1 of a Select Bibliography of Irish Economic History, by P. L. Prenderville, appears in the *Economic History Review* for October. This part carries the subject from the earliest times to the sixteenth century.

M. Georges Espinas contributed to the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* for Oct. 15 an illuminating review of M. Coornaert's two recent volumes on industries in Hondschoote and at Bergues-Saint-Winoc. His point of view is indicated by the title of his article, Comment étudier un Centre Industriel d'autrefois: à propos de Recherches sur la Draperie Flamande.

Articles: G. B. Picotti, *Il Senato Romano e il Processo di Boezio* (Arch. Stor. Ital., Aug.); N. H. Baynes, *A Note on the Fifteenth Centenary of the Death of St. Augustine* (Hist., Oct.); Emil Gröller, *Papstum und Bussgewalt in Spätrömischer und Frühmittelalterlicher Zeit* (Röm. Quartalsch., XXXIX. 2); E. Perels, *Zum Kaisertum Karls des Grossen in Mittelalterlichen Geschichtsquellen* (Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaft., Hist.-Philos. Klasse, XV., XVI.); K. Dieterich, *Zur Kulturgeographie und Kulturgeschichte des Byzantinischen Balkanhandels* (Byzantin. Zeitsch., XXXI. 1); Thomas Oestreich, *The Hildebrandine Reform and its Latest Historian* [the work of Augustin Fliche] (Cath. Hist. Rev., Oct.); Martin Grabmann, *Der Lateinische Averroismus des 13. Jahrhunderts und seine Stellung zur Christlicher Weltanschauung* (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akad. der Wissenschaft., Philos.-Hist. Abteilung, 1931, Hft. 2); K. Jordan, *Das Eindringen des Lehnswesens in das Rechtsleben der Römischen Kurie* (Arch. für Urkundenf., XII. 1); Hoffman Nickerson, *Oman's Muret* (Speculum, Oct.); André E. Sayous, *Les Mandats de Saint-Louis sur son Trésor et le Mouvement International des Capitaux pendant la Septième Croisade, 1248–1254* (Rev. Hist., July); M. M. Davy, *La Situation Juridique des Étudiants de l'Université de Paris au XIII^e Siècle* (Rev. d'Hist. de l'Église de France, July); H. Lippens, *La Fondation du Couvent des Observantes à Liége* (Arch. Francis. Hist., Apr.); F. D. Dölger, *Johannes VII., Kaiser der Rhomäer, 1390–1408* (Byzantin. Zeitsch., XXXI. 1); Steven Runciman, *Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa* (Cam. Hist. Jour., III. 3); H. Heimpel, *Aus der Kanzlei Kaiser Sigismunds* (Arch. für Urkundenf., XII. 1); Hans Kramer, *Untersuchungen zur "Oesterreichischen Geschichte" des Aeneas Sylvius* (Mitteil. des Oesterreich. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLV. 1, 2); Johannes Hofer, *Die Sieger von Belgrad, 1456* (Hist. Jahrb., LI. 2); J. D. M. Ford, *The Saint's Life in the Vernacular Literature of the Middle Ages* (Cath. Hist. Rev., Oct.).

G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General reviews: A. Fugier, *Chronique des Travaux relatifs au Consulat et à l'Empire, l'Année 1930* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., July); Pierre Renouvin, *Histoire de la Guerre, 1914–1918* (Rev. Hist., July).

Europe from the Renaissance to 1815, by Albert Hyma (New York, Crofts, pp. xi, 586, $3.75), is an expansion and revision of *A Short History of Europe, 1500–1815,* which Professor Hyma published in 1928 (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXIV. 638). As the author explains, the former title is not applicable to the new work because he now goes well back of the year 1500 in order to give the background of European history in early modern times. The first hundred pages or so are almost entirely new, being devoted to an analysis of conditions in pre-Reformation Europe. Beginning with a brief description of the geography of Europe, Mr. Hyma discusses in succession the sources of modern European civilization, the political state of the Continent at the close of the Middle Ages, social and economic conditions, and intellectual movements. He devotes special attention to the Italian Renaissance. The remainder of the book follows closely the text of his earlier work, although several new sections have been added, notably those treating of the Holy Roman Empire from 1555 to 1618, the expansion of the European nations into the New World, Africa, and Asia, and the history of Eastern Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. L. W. L.

Anyone familiar with the minutes signed "E. A. C." in the British documents for the period preceding the World War will not be surprised by the title of a new essay by Herr Hermann Lutz, *Eyre Crowe, der Böse Geist des Foreign Office* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, pp. 64). The argument is based upon material furnished by vol. VI. of the documents. Herr Lutz concludes that Crowe was the British Holstein, but with a striking difference. Holstein was dismissed during the Algeciras Conference, because his point of view was regarded as dangerous, while Crowe was promoted and honored until his death in 1925. Crowe had the reputation of being thoroughly informed upon Germany, partly because his mother and his wife were German. Herr Lutz succeeds in showing that the body of facts which Crowe alleged in support of his insistent suspicions was grossly inaccurate. He subjects to similarly severe criticism certain of the reports of Sir W. E. Goschen and Sir Fairfax Cartwright.

Vol. III. of the first series of the *Documents Diplomatiques Français,* which has now been published, runs from Jan. 2, 1880, to May 13, 1881.

Herr Alfred von Wegerer again carries the war into the enemy's camp in his essay entitled *Der Entscheidende Schritt in den Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Quaderverlag, pp. 85, 3.50 M.). This time it is not Russian mobilization that is the decisive step, but the encouragement which Russia gave to Serbia

on July 25 to refuse compliance with the Austrian ultimatum. He believes that he has evidence to show Serbia's readiness to yield until the receipt of a dispatch from Russia promising support and urging refusal.

To the Payot Collection de Mémoires, Études, et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale has been added *La Terreur des Mers: mes Aventures en Sous-Marin, 1914–1918,* by Captain Max Valentinier, translated by Captain P. Teillac (Paris, Payot, pp. 252, 20 fr.). It appears that this submarine commander had to his "credit" the destruction of 150 vessels, of a total of 420,000 tons. This achievement earned for him a place on the list of those who were to be turned over to the Allies for trial. His story is an apologia, but one which will be received with some skepticism by the compatriots of his victims.

A technical study of military operations from August, 1914, to the end of the battle of the Marne, with special emphasis on Moltke's failure, has been made by Wilhelm Groener, under the title *Der Feldherr wider Willen: Operative Studien über den Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Mittler, 1930, pp. 250).

Articles: E. F. Jacob, *Changing Views of the Renaissance,* I. (Hist., Oct.); Fritz Hartung, *Die Epochen der Absoluten Monarchie in der Neueren Geschichte* [study of comparative types more useful than the older chronological periodization, though the latter is not to be entirely abandoned] (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLV. 1); Roger Jaquel, *Euloge Schneider et l'Historiographie Allemande: l'Oeuvre de Mühlenbeck* (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., Sept.); Friedrich Thimme, *Graf Monts und Luzzatti* (Eur. Gespr., Oct.); Bernhard Schwertfeger, *Der Tripoliskrieg und die Oesterreichischen Akten* (Berl. Monatshft., Nov.); M. Lacheret Villate, *La Préparation de l'Armée Russe en 1914* (Rev. de la Guerre Mondiale, Apr.); Élie Halévy, *L'Angleterre sur le Seuil de la Guerre, Août 1913–Août 1914* (Rev. de Paris, Sept. 1); Paul Herre, *Antonio Salandra und Italiens Eintritt in den Weltkrieg* [apropos of Salandra's memoirs] (Berl. Monatshft., Oct.); Général Mordacq, *Souvenirs sur Joffre et Clemenceau* (Rev. de Paris, Oct. 15); Robert C. Binkley, *New Light on the Paris Peace Conference* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Sept.).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: A. O. Meyer, *Literaturbericht über Englische Geschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* [mainly 1925–1930] (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIV. 3).

Mr. Frederic Milner has written the volume entitled *Economic Evolution in England* (London and New York, Macmillan, pp. xii, 451, $2.75) in order to meet the need of a complete synthesis of this phase of

English historical experience. His treatment is divided into four sections: Pre-Conquest Eras, the Middle Ages, the Age of Nationalism, and the Modern Age. Each of the four sections is subdivided into chapters, dealing with the phenomena of agriculture, industry, trade, towns, revenue, and communciations, with the addition for the later sections of chapters on economic thought, banking, and the poor law. The chapters are furnished with brief bibliographical lists.

Sir Charles Oman, whose *History of the Peninsular War* was recently brought to a conclusion, has prepared a volume on *The Coinage of England* (Oxford University Press). This useful handbook opens with an account of Anglo-Saxon coinage and comes down to the close of the nineteenth century. It is illustrated with forty-five plates.

The Oxford University Press has added Macaulay's *History of England,* with notes by the late T. F. Henderson, to its series of The World's Classics. The edition is in five volumes, sold at two shillings each. It will be remembered that the Henderson edition was originally published in 1907.

The corporation of Edinburgh has issued a further volume of *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 21 s.). It is edited by Marguerite Wood, and covers the reign of James I. after the union of the two crowns. To selections from the records of the town council have been added other extracts from miscellaneous city documents. Many phases of contemporary life are illustrated. Edinburgh was beginning to feel the benefits of a long period of peace. The search for "papists" occasionally afforded excitement to the townsmen, who were at that time under the influence of a Calvinistic Presbyterianism still in its phase of vigorous growth.

The Story of "The Times", by William Dodgson Bowman (New York, Dial Press, pp. ix, 342, $4.00), is an interesting tale of a great newspaper, the greatest that the world has ever known. *The Times* has been anything but impersonal. Its history is full of the policies and actions of remarkable men, the elder and the younger John Walter, Barnes, Delane, and Lord Northcliffe. One source of its influence was the continuity of its direction. The author quotes Mr. G. E. Buckle as saying at a complimentary dinner given him in 1909 that from 1816 or 1817 when the second John Walter created the post of editor there had been only four editors, "Barnes, Delane, Chenery, and I". Any history of *The Times* is inevitably a running commentary on the chief political events of the century and a half since the newspaper came into existence. The author's conceptions of recent European history seem quite unreconstructed.

A clarifying light is thrown upon the Gordon controversy by Bernard M. Allen's new biography entitled *Gordon and the Sudan* (London, Mac-

millan). It is based upon a meticulous examination of all the documents in the case, including the telegrams preserved in the Public Record Office.

Cecil Headlam has edited Lord Milner's South African correspondence under the title of *The Milner Papers*. The first volume was published in November by Cassell.

A useful supplement to Viscount Grey's *Twenty-five Years*, and, in some measure, to the *British Documents on the Origins of the World War*, is the volume of *Speeches on Foreign Affairs, 1904–1914*, by Sir Edward Grey (the Viscount Grey of Fallodon), selected with an introduction by Paul Knaplund (London, Allen and Unwin, pp. 327, 10 s. 6 d.). Dr. Knaplund believes that Grey, as a disciple of Gladstone, had early acquired an aversion for Bismarckian or German diplomatic methods. It is perhaps going too far to say that in the negotiations of 1884–1885 Germany "pointed a pistol at his [Gladstone's] head". To the late comer in the colonial field it was sometimes exasperating to find "keep off" signs on territory to which Britain had no claim. At the close of the more formal speeches has been printed Grey's statement of April 28, 1914, about naval negotiations with Russia, in which, not altogether successfully, he avoided telling the truth.

Articles: Albert Schreiber, *Drei Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Gefangenschaft des Königs Richard Löwenherz* (Hist. Vierteljahr., July); H. G. Richardson and George Sayles, *The King's Ministers in Parliament, 1272–1377*, I. (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.); H. M. Robertson, *Sir Bevis Bulmer, a Large-Scale Speculator of Elizabethan and Jacobean Times* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., Nov.); Edith Farnham, *The Somerset Election of 1614* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.); Doris M. Gill, *The Treasury, 1660–1714* (*ibid.*); G. M. Trevelyan, *Peterborough and Barcelona, 1705* [Narrative and Diary of Colonel John Richards] (Cam. Hist. Jour., III. 3); W. F. Reddaway, *Macartney in Russia, 1765–1767* (*ibid.*); Elizabeth Donnan, *Eighteenth Century English Merchants: Micajah Perry* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., Nov.); James F. Kenney, *Letter from an Edinburgh Student, 1804, with an Introduction and Notes* (Queen's Quar., summer).

FRANCE

The important work of Comte Maxime de Sars on *Le Laonnois Féodal* is nearing completion. Vol. IV., which has just been published, deals, among other fiefs, with the Marquisate of Coucy. The final volume is expected during the current year.

Apropos of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the École Française de Rome, which was celebrated on Oct. 27, a volume has been published with the title of *L'Histoire et l'Œuvre de l'École Française de Rome* (Paris, Boccard, pp. 365, 60 fr.). Among the collaborators are

MM. Georges Goyau, Camille Jullian, Louis Madelin, É. Mâle, and Pierre de Nolhac.

The year in which the French have been celebrating the glories of their old and their new colonial empire has renewed the interest, in many cases never lacking, in their explorers and founders. To the group of books which have resulted Dr. L. V. Jacks has added a *La Salle* (New York, Scribner's, pp. 282, $3.00), written in a lively style and after the manner of the new biography. Another interesting treatment of the same theme is *The Fatal River: the Life and Death of La Salle* (New York, Holt, pp. 303, $3.00). The author is Mrs. Frances Gaither. This book is provided with a substantial bibliography.

A monograph of value for the student of Louis XIV.'s wars has been written by Kurt von Raumer under the title, *Die Zerstörung der Pfalz von 1698 im Zusammenhang der Französischen Rheinpolitik* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1930, pp. vii, 335).

To the list of Les Grandes Figures Coloniales, M. Pierre La Mazière has added another, *Lally-Tollendal* (Paris, Plon, pp. 249, 15 fr.). The tragic story is told sympathetically, and yet none of Lally's faults is glossed over. His ruin is ascribed to his own temperament and character, quite as much as to the stupidities of the French East India Company and the incompetence or ill-will of his associates at Pondicherry. Lally had not the remotest conception of what should be required in the critical situation brought about by the disgrace of Dupleix. Indeed, his main interest in going to India was an Irish Jacobite's eagerness for another opportunity to fight the English.

An instructive illustration of the severe application of historical criticism to the evidence in the case of a problem especially puzzling is to be found in M. Pierre Caron's article on Danton et les Massacres de Septembre in the *Révolution Française* for July.

M. Jules Dechamps, a professor at the University of London, in a volume entitled *Sur la Légende de Napoléon* (Paris, Champion), aims to show that the Napoleonic legend was not the result of propaganda, but the natural consequence of an ever growing interest. This interest was stimulated, not created, by the writings and reported words of Napoleon at St. Helena. The author might have remarked that the recent revival of Napoleon worship was probably due to the desperate need which the French felt during the early years of the World War of a great military genius who could overthrow the ancient enemy and invader.

Professor Marcel Marion's monumental *Histoire Financière de la France depuis 1715* has now been completed by the publication of vol. VI., with the title of *La Troisième République jusqu'à la Guerre, 1876–1914* (Paris, Rousseau, pp. 435, 60 fr.).

Dr. Frank Edward Lally's dissertation on *French Opposition to the Mexican Policy of the Second Empire* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, pp. 163, $1.50) deals with an aspect of the Mexican question overshadowed, at least in America, by the more effective opposition of the United States. This volume belongs to the series of Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.

Those who twenty years ago read with pleasure the *Chronique* of the Duchesse de Dino will discover a prolongation of that interest in the *Souvenirs de la Princesse Antoine Radziwill* (Paris, Plon, pp. xxxiii, 310, 18 fr.). The Princess Radziwill was the daughter of the Duchesse de Dino's only child, Pauline, so often mentioned in the *Chronique*. The princess was a Castellane, and the wife of Prince Antoine Radziwill, aid-de-camp of William I. of Prussia and Germany. The *Souvenirs* are mainly drawn from a notebook which she kept, from her letters, and from those of her husband. They give interesting glimpses of court life in Prussia at the time when William succeeded his brother and are especially full on the Vatican Council and on the Franco-Prussian War. As she was French by birth the subtitle is *Une Française à la Cour de Prusse*. An extended preface is contributed by M. Jules Cambon, who knew her well when he was French ambassador.

Articles: B. J. H. Rowe, *The Estates of Normandy under the Duke of Bedford, 1422–1435* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.); Henri Sée, *Un Bail de Métayage dans le Pays de Rennes en 1537* (An. de Bret., XXXIX. 3); Jean Bonnerot, *Esquisse de la Vie des Routes au XVI^e Siècle* [to be reprinted as a preface to a critical edition of Charles Estienne's *Guide des Chemins de France*, first published in 1552] (Rev. des Quest. Hist., July); P. O. de Törne, *Philippe II. et Henri de Guise, 1578* (Rev. Hist., July); Yvonne Bezard, *Deux Hommes d'Affaires sous Louis XIV.* [François Bégon and Michel Bégon of Montfermeil] (Rev. des Quest. Hist., July); André Şavignon, *Corsaires Malouins au XVII^e Siècle*, I., concl. (Rev. de Paris, Aug. 15, Sept. 1); Léon Cahen, *Ce qu'enseigne un Péage du XVIII^e Siècle: la Seine, entre Rouen et Paris, et les Caractères de l'Économie Parisienne* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Oct. 15); Léon Vignols, *Salaires des Ouvriers et Prix des Matériaux employés aux Travaux Publics à Saint-Malo de 1737 à 1744 et 1755 à 1762* (An. de Bret., XXXIX. 3); Jean Weelen, *La Jeunesse et les Débuts Militaires du Comte de Rochambeau*, I., II. [to be cont.] (N. Rev., Oct. 15, Nov. 1); Gérard Walter, *Marat à la Veille du 10 Août* (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., Sept.); G. Lefebvre, *La Rivalité du Comité de Salut Public et du Comité de Sûreté Générale* [apropos of Ording's *Le Bureau de Police du Comité de Salut Public: Étude sur la Terreur*] (Rev. Hist., July); P. Charliat, *Le Prélude d'une Renaissance: Napoléon à Anvers* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., July); B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch, *Mille Huit Cent Trente dans l'Évolution Constitutionnelle de l'Europe* (*ibid.*); Richard Przelaskowski, *"L'Avenir" et la Question Polonaise*

(*ibid.*); André Guyot, ed., *Lettres de Guizot à Mme. de Gasparin*, I., *1830–1836* [to be cont.] (Rev. des D. M., Nov. 1); Luigi Rava, *Il "Grido di Dolore" e l'Ignoto Opuscolo di Napoleone III. su "l'Onor Militare", 1833* (N. Antol., Oct. 1); E. Bapst, *Projet de Mariage entre l'Empereur Napoléon III. et la Princesse Adélaïde de Hohenlohe* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., XLV. 3); Jean Lulvès, *Papst Leos XIII. Erste Begegnung mit Wilhelm II., Oktober, 1888, und Frankreichs Vatikanische Politik*, I. (Preuss. Jahrb., July); Général Mangin, *Lettres de la Mission Marchand, 1895–1899* (Rev. des D. M., Sept. 15).

BELGIUM

Bulletins I. and II. (1931) of the Commission Royale d'Histoire of Belgium contain the following contributions: A. de Ridder, La Belgique de 1842 vue par un Diplomate Français [Études Morales et Politiques sur la Belgique, by the Marquis de Ferrière le Voyer]; L. Van der Essen, Inventaire Analytique d'un Recueil de Lettres Inédites échangées par Alexandre Farnese avec les Membres de la Famille Capizucchi, 1572–1593; J. Garsou, Le Gouvernement Français et le Prince d'Orange; F. Favresse, Documents relatifs aux Réformes Financières entreprises par Bruxelles de 1334 à 1386. *Bulletin* III. is devoted mainly to Documents Inédits concernant la Mise en Défense des Campagnes Lossaines [pays de Looz] à l'Époque Moderne, edited by A. Hansay. These documents run from 1584 to 1719.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

In 1925 Dr. T. E. Karsten, professor of Germanic philology in the University of Helsingfors, published in Swedish a volume on the early Germans entitled *Germanerna*. Two years later he published a revised edition in German. Of this German edition M. F. Mossé, director of studies in the École Pratique des Hautes Études, has prepared a French translation entitled *Les Anciens Germains: Introduction à l'Étude des Langues et des Civilisations Germaniques* (Paris, Payot, pp. 273, 40 fr.). Professor A. Meillet, of the Collège de France, has written a preface relating the work of Karsten to that of other scholars who have dealt with the problem. The volume belongs to Payot's Bibliothèque Scientifique.

The sermons of Mathesius, preached between 1562 and 1565, have an important place in the Luther literature of the sixteenth century and constitute a noteworthy example of the older German prose; they furnish in addition a lifelike picture of the great reformer as he appeared to a contemporary. They have been thoroughly studied for the first time in *Die Lutherpredigten des Johannes Mathesius: Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung im Zeitalter der Reformation*, by Hans Volz (Leipzig, Heinsius Nachf., 1930, pp. xiii, 292) [Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, vol. XII.].

The *Entwicklungsgeschichte des Herzogtums Schleswig in Historischer Zeit,* by Friedrich Mayer, a geographer, is the first great attempt to utilize historical sources to build up what the Germans call a *kulturgeographische* picture of the ancient duchy. Vol. I. deals with the *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Kulturlandschaft auf der Geest und im Oestlichen Hügelland des Herzogtums Schleswig bis zur Verkoppelungszeit* (Breslau, Hirt, 1930, pp. 523); two more volumes are to follow.

Those interested in the personality of the liberal Emperor Frederick III. will find profit in *Der Preussische Kronprinz im Verfassungskampf, 1863,* by Heinrich Otto Meisner, the specialist in the life of this prince. After a brief introductory study, the author prints ninety documents from the Prussian archives and from private collections (Berlin, Mittler, pp. vi, 211).

A group of recollections by those who knew Francis Joseph personally has been gathered together by Eduard Ritter von Steinitz under the title *Erinnerungen an Franz Joseph I., Kaiser von Oesterreich und Apostolischer König von Ungarn* (Berlin, Verlag für Kulturpolitik, pp. 438).

Articles: Henri Berr, *Au Bout de Trente Ans: l'Évolution de la Philosophie de l'Histoire en Allemagne,* I. (Rev. de Synthèse, June); Walter L. Dorn, *The Prussian Bureaucracy in the Eighteenth Century* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Sept.); Wilhelm Lüdke, *Der Kampf zwischen Oesterreich und Preussen um die Vorherrschaft im "Reiche" und die Auflösung des Fürstenbundes, 1789–1791* (Mitteil. des Oesterreich. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLV. 1–2); Willy Andreas, *Johannes von Müller in Weimar, 1804* (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLV. 1); Emil Kayser, *Die Neuenburger Revolution vor 100 Jahren, September und Dezember, 1831* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Oct.); Gerald S. Graham, *Cobden's Influence on Bismarck* (Queen's Quar., summer); Erich Marcks, *Zwei Studien an Neuen Bismarck-Quellen* [documents of 1862–1866; MS. materials of the 1850 decade] (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIV. 3); Siegmund Meiboom, *Bismarck und Bayern am Bundestag, 1851–1859* (Hist. Vierteljahr., July); August v. Loehr, *Die Deutsch-Oesterreichische Münzkonvention von 1857* (Mitteil. des Oesterreich. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLV. 1–2); Hermann Oncken, *Die Baden-Badener Denkschrift Bismarcks über die Deutsche Bundesreform, Juli, 1861* [discovery of earlier form of this paper in archives of Baden] (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLV. 1); Emil Daniels, *Die Notverordnung von 1863 und die Inneren Vorgänge im Preussischen Königshause,* I., concl. (Preuss. Jahrb., Oct., Nov.); Hermann Gackenholz, *Der Kriegsrat von Czernahora von 12. Juli, 1866: ein Beitrag zur Kritik der "Gedanken und Erinnerungen"* (Hist. Vierteljahr., July); Julius Heyderhoff, ed., *Aus der Werkstatt eines Guten Europäers: Ausgewählte Briefe Karl Hillebrands* [1876–1880] (Preuss. Jahrb., Oct.); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Franz Joseph I., Charakter und Regierungsgrundsätze* (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIV. 3).

SWITZERLAND

The Historischer Verein of the Canton of Bern has dedicated the first Heft of its vol. XXXI. to Professor Heinrich Türler, Bundesarchivar, upon his seventieth birthday, July 6, 1931. Aside from the proceedings of the society, the volume is made up of essays throwing light upon the history of the cantons. Among them are: Die Gültigkeit Königlicher Privilegien und der Schwyzer Freiheitsbrief, by Traugott Schiess; Eine Eidgenossenschaft in der Dauphiné, by Hans Nabholz; Ein Berner Zinsrodel aus dem Jahre 1446, by Friedrich Emil Welti; and Die Anfänge des Täufertums in Bern, by Richard Feller. One belongs to the period of French Revolutionary intervention in Switzerland: Die Bundeshilfe Luzerns und Unterwaldens für Bern und Solothurn im Frühjahr 1798, by Robert Durrer. At the close of the volume is a list of the publications of Professor Türler.

ITALY AND SPAIN

Vol. LVII. of the *Atti* of the Società Ligure di Storia Patria is taken up with an account of the society's activities from 1917 to 1929, compiled by the secretary-general, Francesco Poggi (Genoa, 1930, pp. xi, 338). Vol. LVIII. is a publication by Pietro Nurra of the lost MS. of Girolamo Serra's *Memoria per la Storia di Genova,* rediscovered in the library of the Marchese Serra (*ibid.,* 1930, pp. xii, 232). The first part deals with the period of the French Revolution up to 1797, the second with the events of the year 1814, in both of which Serra played a part. The author planned an intermediate section from 1797 to 1805; it has not been found and the editor doubts whether it was ever written.

A. Ferone has studied *Le Finanze Napoletane negli Ultimi Anni del Regno Borbonico* for the series Biblioteca di Coltura Meridionale, edited by A. Cutolo (Naples, S. T.-E. A., 1930, pp. viii, 164).

Articles: O. De Fiore, *Bibliografia Preistorica della Sicilia e delle Isole Adiacenti* [1832–1930] (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Orient., XXVII. 1); Fedele Marletta, *La Vita e la Cultura Catanese ai Tempi di Don Francesco Lanario* (*Sec. XVII.*), I. (*ibid.*); Gennaro Maria Monti, *Studi di Storia Angioina,* II., *Roberto di Angiò e la Crisi del Regno di Sicilia* (Riv. Stor. Ital., July); Francesco Gasparolo, *Notizie Storiche sul Regime Comunale di Alessandria dalla sua Origine* [1228–1775] (Riv. di Stor., Arte e Arch. per la Provincia di Alessandria, Jan.); Carlo Formichi, *Dante e la Persia* (N. Antol., July 16); Baldo Peroni, *La Passione dell' Indipendenza nella Lombardia occupata dai Francesi, 1796–1797* (N. Riv. Stor., Jan.); Guglielmina Cattani, *Il Giansenismo e la Legislazione Ecclesiastica della Cisalpina* (*ibid.*); Francesco Gasparolo, *Il Conte Carlo Andrea Carpani di Viguzzolo* [to which is appended an important series of letters, running to 234 pages, from the Carpani documents in the

Alessandria communal archives; they range from 1791 to 1840, the major part dating from the Napoleonic period] (Riv. di Stor., Arte e Arch. per la Provincia di Alessandria, Jan.); Alessandro Levi, *Il Pensiero Politico di Giuseppe Ferrari* (N. Riv. Stor., May); Niccolò Rodolico, *Lettere di Carlo Alberto a Giacinto di Collegno: Campagna del 1848* (N. Antol., Aug. 1); E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Vie Économique de l'Espagne Musulmane au X^e Siècle* (Rev. Hist., July); Abbott Payson Usher, *Deposit Banking in Barcelona, 1300–1700* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., Nov.); J. W. van Nouhuys, *The Model of a Spanish Caravel of the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century* [translated from the *Annual Report* for 1930 of the "Prins Hendrik" Maritime Museum in Rotterdam] (Mariner's Mirror, Oct.); A. Kammerer, *Une Ambassade Portugaise en Abyssinie au XVI^e Siècle: la Mission de R. de Lima et du Chapelain Alvarez auprès du Prêtre Jean* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., July).

NORTHERN EUROPE

The romance of the union of Poland and Lithuania is told by Mrs. Charlotte Kellogg in *Jadwiga, Poland's Great Queen* (New York, Macmillan, pp. xxvi, 304, $2.50). A preface has been written by Ignaz Jan Paderewski and an introduction by Frank H. Simonds.

The Prohibition Experiment in Finland, by John H. Wuorinen, instructor in history, Columbia University (New York, Columbia University Press, pp. x, 251, $3.50), after a brief historical survey of the movement to control the liquor traffic, analyzes the law of 1917, with its revisions and changing methods of enforcement, and tests the results. Every aspect of the situation is illustrated by statistical tables.

Aus der Historischen Wissenschaft der Sovet-Union, edited by Otto Hoetzsch (Berlin, Ost-Europa-Verlag, 1929, pp. xii, 199, 8 M.), is made up of lectures by Russian historians during "Russische Historikerwoche", organized in Berlin in 1928. Three of particular interest are Das Archivwesen der Russischen Sozialistischen Föderativen Sovet-Republik, by V. V. Adoratskij, Das Bibliothekswesen in der Union der Sozialistischen Sovet-Republiken, by D. N. Egorov, and Das Problem des Russischen Nordens in der Neueren Historiographie, by S. F. Platonov.

The World Peace Foundation has added to its series of publications a volume on *The Soviet Planned Economic Order,* by William Henry Chamberlin (Boston, pp. vii, 258, $2.50), long a correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* in Russia. The appendixes of documents are a valuable part of the work.

Articles: Otto Haintz, *Der Cannae-Sieg des Schwedischen Feldmarschalls Rheinschiöld bei Fraustadt 1706* (Preuss. Jahrb., July); Arthur Montgomery, *L'Évolution de la Suède au XIX^e Siècle* [II.] (An. d'Hist. Éc. et

Soc., Oct. 15); Karl Stählin, *Ideal und Wirklichkeit im Letzten Jahrzehnt Alexanders I.* [Koschelew and Golizyn, Freemasons, replace Mme. von Krüdener as czar's religious guides; czar's increasing political reaction and weakening of evangelical influences] (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLV. 1); Robert J. Kerner, *Russian Expansion to America: its Bibliographical Foundations* (Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, XXV.).

NORTH AFRICA

Another important coöperative enterprise in history, edited by M. Gabriel Hanotaux, is announced by the Librairie Plon of Paris. It is an *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne* in seven volumes. It is to be published under the auspices of His Majesty King Fuad. Among the collaborators are M. Charles de La Roncière, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Professor Alexandre Moret, of the Collège de France, M. Jouguet, director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, M. Charles Diehl, the Byzantine scholar, and M. Henri Dehérain, librarian of the Institute. The first volume is ready, and is divided into two parts: *Introduction Générale,* by M. Hanotaux, and *La Géographie de l'Égypte à travers les Ages,* by M. de La Roncière. The price per volume is 150 francs.

The rule of Mehemet Ali is being studied from a new angle by A. Sammarco, who proposes to describe *Il Regno di Mohammed Ali nei Documenti Diplomatici Italiani Inediti.* Vol. I., *L'Egitto nell' Anarchia, Luglio, 1801–Luglio, 1804,* is now available (Cairo, Publications de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, 1930, pp. 169).

Several instructive volumes on North Africa have recently appeared. *Le Maroc,* by Augustin Bernard (Paris, Alcan, pp. viii, 48, 60 fr.), is the seventh edition of the author's well-known work on Morocco, particularly emphasizing historical, political, and economic matters. *Le Maroc,* by Jean Célérier (Paris, Colin, pp. 216, 10.50 fr.), deals principally with the natural resources and with the various activities by which the native groups manage to maintain life. It belongs to the well-known Colin series. In *L'Algérie, vivra-t-elle?* by Maurice Violette (Paris, Alcan, pp. xxiii, 503, 20 fr.) a detailed account of living conditions in Algeria is given and a plea made for more liberal treatment of the small French Algerian colonists and of the natives. To one familiar with the country, the author's criticisms appear justified, but the desire and difficulties of the government in the matter of reforms are quite obvious. Useful tables of statistics are included but no maps. *Moeurs et Coutumes des Musulmans,* by E. F. Gautier (Paris, Payot, pp. 305, 25 fr.), is a veritable addition, by this eminent French scholar, to the historical literature of the Mohammedan peoples. By a well drawn comparison of the Eastern and Western conceptions of family, nationality, and religion, Gautier has sought the origin of the

customs and mental attitude of Mohammedan peoples in the history of the Oriental races from whom they were derived. There are good maps and illustrations but no index. G. F. A.

Article: U. B. Phillips, *Plantations East and South of Suez* (Agric. Hist., July).

ASIA

General review: A. Vincent, *Chronique d'Histoire Orientale* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Apr.).

If evidence were needed to show that extraterritoriality is something more than a juridical problem and that its survival in the twentieth century finally aroused intense nationalistic emotions, this would be furnished by *La Suppression des Capitulations en Perse*, by Ahmad Khan Matine-Daftary (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1930, pp. 265, 35 fr.). The author is councilor at the court of appeals in Teheran, and was formerly connected with the Persian ministry of foreign affairs. The success of the Persians in ridding themselves of the capitulations is of very recent date, by the provisional agreements of May 10, 1928. The author deals with the origin of the privileged position of Europeans and explains its juridical consequences. He also recounts briefly the diplomatic history of the country, especially since the Russian aggressions which followed the Anglo-Russian accord of 1907.

It is fortunate that American publishers have reissued the valuable work on *Far Eastern International Relations,* by Hosea Ballou Morse and Harley Farnsworth MacNair (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, pp. xvi, 846, $4.50) which the Chinese nationalists had forced a well-known Shanghai publishing house to withdraw from circulation, chiefly because of statements about the more recent course of the Chinese revolution. As already remarked in this journal (XXXIV. 844), the work was begun as a condensation of Dr. Morse's *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*. Its scope was enlarged to include the Far East as a whole.

To gain a balanced impression of what China is after so many years of revolution one can not go to a more suggestive source than M. É. Vandervelde's *A Travers la Révolution Chinoise* (Paris, Alcan, pp. 241, 25 fr.). The author is the well-known Belgian socialist leader, president of the Second International, but his comments are observations not arguments. His opportunities of meeting the leaders of all factions were unusual, Belgium being popular in China because of the renunciation of her concession in Tientsin. There are some lines of encouragement in the picture he draws.

Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette's brief history and interpretation of Japan entitled *The Development of Japan* (New York, Macmillan,

pp. xiii, 258, $2.00) has reached a third edition. The principal revisions are in chs. XI. and XII., which deal with the period from 1894 to 1931. The bibliography has also been brought down to date.

Articles: Yamato Ichihashi, *Economic Life in Japan, 1600–1868* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., Nov.); Paul H. Clyde, *Railway Politics and the Open Door in China, 1916–1917* (Am. Jour. of Internat. Law, Oct.).

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: papers of Andrew Jackson, 1790–1845, some 1100 pieces, being those which Jackson entrusted to Amos Kendall for purposes of biography; fourteen letters of John C. Calhoun to L. W. Tazewell; letter book, 1817–1818, of J. M. Forbes, consul in Copenhagen; additional papers of Walter Q. Gresham; papers of Manton Marble and Robert G. Ingersoll, large collections in both cases; photostats of the minutes of the vice-admiralty courts held in the colonies of North Carolina and South Carolina, and of many letters of George Washington and James McHenry; and the usual large installment of photocopies of American manuscripts from foreign archives.

Vol. I. of the *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America,* edited by Hunter Miller (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. x, 198, $1.25), contains, besides an introduction explanatory of the general plan of this extensive series, a Bibliography of United States Treaty Collections, a List of Documents in the Edition, a List of Treaty Series, a Chronological and a Classified List of Proclamations affecting Foreign Relations, and other lists and tables. This is a "short print" issue, the definitive edition awaiting the completion of the series.

A committee has been organized by Ambassador Walter E. Edge, in Paris, for the purpose of obtaining oil portraits of all the ministers and ambassadors from the United States to France, from Benjamin Franklin to Myron T. Herrick, for a gallery in the future building of the American embassy. Mr. Charles Moore is the chairman of a coöperating committee in the United States.

A revised edition has been published of the essays by Professor Charles M. Andrews on *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution* (New Haven, Yale University Press, pp. x, 220, $2.50). The volume first appeared in 1924, and was reviewed in this journal (XXX. 832–833). It will be recalled that the fourth essay, entitled General Reflections, opened with some remarks upon the difficulty of substituting for the popular and "patriotic" conception of the causes of the Revolution a juster view of all

the forces at work. That situation is improving, since the textbooks from which the children of to-day, and therefore the men and women of to-morrow, are gaining their ideas of American history, embody more and more the very ideas taught by the essays in this volume.

In connection with Professor Faÿ's article on Learned Societies it is interesting to note what Mr. Frederick E. Brasch, of the Library of Congress, has to say in the *Scientific Monthly* of October and November about The Royal Society of London and its Influence upon Scientific Thought in the American Colonies. Mr. Brasch has found that eighteen colonials were elected fellows of the society, half of the number residing in Massachusetts Bay. Connecticut's sole F. R. S. was John Winthrop, jr. Roger Williams was, like Winthrop, one of the original members of the society. Another Winthrop to be chosen was John Winthrop IV., who was professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Harvard College. The most notable Virginian was William Byrd II. It is natural that Mr. Brasch has reserved an important place in his treatment to Benjamin Franklin. He deals with each of the eighteen in the order of their election, and bases his conclusions mainly upon the *Transactions* of the Royal Society.

The Michigan State Commission for the George Washington Bicentennial has issued three bulletins under the title of *Bicentennial Notes on George Washington.* The editor is Randolph G. Adams. There are brief articles on various phases of Washington's career, contributed by Rupert Hughes, Verner W. Crane, Allen French, and Arthur S. Aiton. Several of Washington's letters, from the collection of William L. Clements, are reproduced in facsimile. There is also a plan of Valley Forge, drawn apparently by a Philadelphia merchant who played the part of a British spy. In no. 3 are reproduced several maps of Yorktown, drawn by officers of Cornwallis's army.

A History of the United States, vol. I., *Foundations, Expansion, Conflict, 1492–1865,* by Harry J. Carman and Samuel McKee, jr. (Boston, D. C. Heath, pp. xii, 904, $4.00) is a revision of Professor Carman's *Social and Economic History of the United States* for the use of general college courses in the first semester. The colonial period is given somewhat less than a quarter of the space. It is treated topically under such chapter headings as The Colonial Farmer at Work, The Farmer away from Work, and The Colonial Manufacturer. The same principle of presenting the phenomena of American history is also applied in dealing with the national period.

Professor Harold Underwood Faulkner's *American Economic History* (New York, Harper, pp. xiv, 795, $3.50), originally published in 1924 and reviewed in this journal (XXX. 371), has now been carefully revised, its chapters and bibliographies brought down to date.

When Professor Samuel P. Orth died in 1922 he left in manuscript an unfinished textbook on American government. This Professor Robert Eugene Cushman has now prepared for publication, supplementing it where this was necessary: *American National Government* (New York, Crofts, pp. xi, 766). The emphasis is placed on constitutional development and interpretation. The historical factors are kept constantly in view. One especially interesting illustration is a section on Personalities and Epochs in the History of the Supreme Court, which appears in the chapter on the Structure and Power of the Federal Courts. Professor Cushman's additions to the projected volume are substantial, including among others, ch. IV., The Evolution of the Constitution, ch. XI., The Administrative Departments, and chs. XVI.-XXII., dealing with the courts, certain powers of the Congress, and Federal and state relations. The treatment in other chapters has been brought down to date.

The first volume of Professor Herbert E. Bolton's *Anza's California Expeditions,* which was reviewed here (XXXVI. 839), has now been published separately under the title of *Outpost of Empire: the Story of the Founding of San Francisco* (New York, Knopf, pp. xxi, 334, xvii, $5.00). The text, illustrations, and maps are the same, but the format has been changed.

In *Bulletin* 98, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Ruth Benedict gives a collection, made in 1924, of *Tales of the Cochiti Indians* (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. x, 256). There are included also translations of certain tales recorded by Professor Franz Boas. He proposes to publish the text of these at a later time.

In the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for August and September is a descriptive catalogue of the Phelps Stokes Collection of American Historical Prints, including a group of views from other collections which belong to the library. The catalogue is made by Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes and Mr. Daniel C. Haskell, with an introduction by Mr. Stokes. The September number also contains pt. 4 of Captain William Owen's Narrative of American Voyages and Travels, edited by Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits.

Nos. 339 and 340 of the Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law are: *The Historical Backgrounds of Early Methodist Enthusiasm,* by Umphrey Lee, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 176, $3.00), and *International Communications: the American Attitude,* by Keith Clark (same press, pp. 265, $3.75).

In *Stories of the States* (New York, Crowell, pp. x, 380, $2.50), Mrs. Nellie van de Grift Sánchez has dealt with each state and territory separately, telling briefly the story of its beginnings, closing with the state

motto and flower, important dates, and reading references. It is illustrated by reproductions of the state seals.

A biography of *Alexander Hamilton, First American Business Man* (New York, Greenberg, pp. x, 241, $3.50), has recently appeared. The author is Robert Irving Warshow, who restates without adding new material the well-known accomplishments of the financial genius of the first Secretary of the Treasury.

The volume entitled *Decatur,* by Irwin Anthony (New York, Scribner's, pp. x, 319, $3.50), is an entertaining book written in the new biographical style. Its author, while making use of what he terms "lyricism", has based his narrative on a wide reading of the sources.

G. A. Baker and Company, 480 Lexington Avenue, New York City, have brought out a reissue, by lithographic process, of William H. Brown's *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished American Citizens, with Biographical Sketches and Facsimiles of Original Letters* (Hartford, 1845). Brown is described as the last of the silhouettists.

Lawlessness in American cities has taken on new forms, but it is not a new phenomenon, as anyone may see who reads ch. XI. of Alvin F. Harlow's *Old Bowery Days, the Chronicles of a Famous Street* (New York, Appleton, pp. xi, 565, $5.00). This chapter has the familiar title of the Rise of the Gangs. The main difference is that in those days the leaders were literally "bruisers", while now they are "gunmen". It should be added that there is much in this book besides tales of famous battles between volunteer fire companies.

Duff Green's "England and the United States": with an Introductory Study of American Opposition to the Quintuple Treaty of 1841, a paper by Professor St. George L. Sioussat, with accompanying documentary material, which appeared in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, 1930, has been reprinted separately (Worcester, the Society, pp. 104). Dr. Sioussat makes an interesting contribution to hitherto obscure aspects of Anglo-Franco-American relations in the period 1841–1842. He outlines not only the official American opposition to the ratification by France of the treaty designed to abolish the African slave trade, but emphasizes particularly the effectiveness not before realized of the "personal diplomacy" of Duff Green, Kentucky journalist, business man, and politician, traveling in Europe at the time of the controversy, who lent his pen unofficially to the administration. "Today almost forgotten, in his time Duff Green was as well known as Horace Greeley or James Gordon Bennett."

My United States, by Frederic J. Stimson (New York, Scribner's, pp. xiv, 478, $3.50), is a species of autobiographical commentary on the course of American experience during the last fifty years or more, for it opens before Mr. Stimson entered Harvard with the class of 1876 and closes with

the end of Wilson's administration. The genial tone of the earlier chapters becomes clouded with the approach of the World War and the last third of the volume is concerned mainly with the author's mission as ambassador to the Argentine. The title of the book suggests the attitude of the author toward his country, in wholesome contrast to the pose of the more conventional critics of the moment.

As the first detailed account of the life of Admiral Evans the volume entitled *Fighting Bob Evans,* by Edwin A. Falk (New York, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, pp. x, 495, $5.00), will be appreciated by those readers who like popular, journalistic biography.

Dr. James Brown Scott has edited *The International Conferences of American States, 1889–1928* (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. xxix, 551, $3.50). It belongs to the series on international law in the publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and embodies the conventions, recommendations, resolutions, reports, and motions, together with the documents which relate to the organization of the first six international conferences of the American states. Dr. Scott has timed the publication as a tribute to Bolívar, whose centenary has just been celebrated. In an annex to his introduction he prints the documents relating to the Congress of Panama of 1826, which Bolívar prepared. Dr. Scott also intends that the work shall be a memorial to James G. Blaine, the Secretary of State "who had the wisdom to appreciate and to carry into effect Bolívar's proposal through the conferences which have met regularly since 1889".

Catholic Charities in the United States: History and Problems, by John O'Grady, secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, with an introduction by Bishop Shahan, is published by the National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C. (pp. xxvi, 475, $3.00). The treatment goes back to the beginnings of Catholic charitable work in America. There are two instructive chapters on The Old Immigration and its Problems and on Colonization as a Panacea. The author regards the efforts of Archbishop Ireland in organizing colonies in Minnesota as on the whole a striking success. The remainder of the volume deals with charitable work in the usual sense. There is a substantial bibliography.

Through the volume entitled *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War, American Expeditionary Forces, Divisions* (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. vi, 442, $1.50) it is possible to examine the summary record of each of the forty-three divisions which served in France. The work has been compiled by officers in the Historical Section of the Army War College. As the compilers have employed many printing devices to avoid useless duplication of words, they have packed an immense amount of information in small compass.

Verne E. Chatelain, head of the department of history at State Teachers College, Peru, Nebr., has been appointed Chief Historian of the National Park Service with headquarters at Washington, D. C. Mr. Chatelain began his duties on Sept. 10. This appointment marks the inauguration of a definite program of historical activity through which the Park Service expects to interpret to its millions of visitors the prehistoric and historic features of each of the national parks and monuments. The function of the Chief Historian will be to direct, correlate, and extend the work. The new program calls for research: first, in the archæological and anthropological aspects of ancient American civilizations, many traces of which are to be found in national parks and monuments of Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and in Acadia National Park in Maine; second, in colonial, Revolutionary, and Civil War history in reserves such as the recently dedicated Colonial National Monument, comprising parts of historic Jamestown Island, Williamsburg, and Yorktown, Va.; third, in frontier and Western history, of which Yellowstone, Grand Teton, and Grand Canyon national parks, and Scottsbluff National Monument are typical. According to the plan, a staff of park historians will be gradually chosen and stationed in selected monuments and parks. Recently Mr. B. Floyd Flickinger, instructor in history at the College of William and Mary, and Mr. Elbert Cox, graduate student at the University of Virginia, were named assistant park historians at Colonial National Monument, with headquarters at Yorktown.

Articles: Charles de La Roncière, *Le Livre de Chevet et la Carte de Christophe Colomb* (Rev. des D. M., Sept. 15); Curtis Nettels, *British Policy and Colonial Money Supply* (Ec. Hist. Rev., III.); J. P. Boyd, *Connecticut's Experiment in Expansion: the Susquehannah Company, 1753–1803* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., Nov.); A. C. Bining, *The Early Iron Industry in Pennsylvania* (Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron., Oct.); Otto Vossler, *Die Ursprünge der Amerikanischen Revolution von 1776* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Oct.); Randolph G. Adams, *James Wilson and St. Andrews* (Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron., Oct.); Colonel Oliver L. Spaulding, *General Henry Knox* (Field Artillery Jour., Sept.); Jean Weelen, *Rochambeau avant Yorktown* (Rev. de Paris, Oct. 15); Capt. Thomas G. Frothingham, U. S. R., *The Sequence that led to Yorktown* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, Oct.); Commander A. H. Miles, U. S. N., *Naval Views of the Yorktown Campaign* (*ibid.*); Jean Marchand, *Le Journal du Duc de Liancourt à Philadelphie, 1794–1795* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., July); J. B. Mac Harg, *The Story of Old Ironsides* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, Oct.); Rear Admiral Livingston Hunt, U. S. N. (Retired), *A Forgotten Commodore: Thomas Macdonough* (*ibid.*, Nov.); G. Hubert Smith, *Noah Webster the Archaeologist* (Am. Anthropol., Oct.); Charles O. Paullin, *Admiral Pierre Landais* (Cath. Hist. Rev., Oct.); Carlos E. Casteñada, *Earliest Catholic Activities in Texas* (*ibid.*); William Cabell Bruce, *A*

Plantation Retrospect (Va. Quar. Rev., Oct.); George W. Hendry, *Adobe Brick as an Historical Source* (Agric. Hist., July); Bertha-Monica Stearns, *Early Western Magazines for Ladies* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Dec.); Roy M. Robbins, *Preemption, a Frontier Triumph* (*ibid.*); George F. Howe, *The New York Custom-House Controversy* (*ibid.*); Robert E. Riegel, *Western Railroad Pools* (*ibid.*); Harold W. Stoke, *Edwin Lawrence Godkin, Defender of Democracy* (South Atlantic Quar., Oct.); Alfred Vagts, *Staatsmänner und Diplomaten,* VIII.: *Henry White* (Eur. Gespr., Oct.).

NEW ENGLAND

To the treasures of the Essex Institute have been added during the past year eighty-five log books and shipping accounts valuable for the study of the West Indies and foreign trade of Salem, Newburyport, and Gloucester. The Institute has also acquired an almost equal number of other account books, illustrating many lines of business in Essex County, including a fairly complete run of the leather, shoe, and tanning industry from 1780 to 1850.

The October number of the Essex Institute *Historical Collections* contains a first installment of a paper by Harriet S. Tapley on Richard Skinner, an Early Eighteenth-Century Merchant of Marblehead. Carl H. Kopf, in an article entitled Samuel Lincoln comes to Salem, gathers up some fragments in the life of Abraham Lincoln's ancestor.

The Marine Research Society, 161 Essex Street, Salem, Mass., has brought out, in a limited edition, *American Merchant Ships,* series 2, by Frederick C. Matthews.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The thirty-second annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association was held at Schenectady on Sept. 23–26. The papers naturally centered upon themes which were local, but many of which illustrate significant phases of general American history. One of the subjects was The Evolution of Transportation and Communication, apropos of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Railroad in New York State. Another dealt with the rôle of Union College. There were historical pilgrimages to Fort Johnson and to the battlefield of Saratoga. The president of the association, Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, was reëlected for another year.

The New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* for September contains an article by Alexander J. Wall on Early Newspapers, with a list of the New York Historical Society's collection of papers published in California, Oregon, Washington, Montana, and Utah. There are numerous facsimiles, including one of the first number of the Oxford *Gazette* (Nov. 16, 1665), the earliest newspaper printed in England. In the October num-

ber is a timely article by Dorothy C. Barck on Proposed Memorials to Washington in New York City, 1802–1847.

In the October *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, Charles S. Boyer's interesting studies of Jersey Justice in Olden Days are concluded, as are also the late Dr. Honeyman's articles on early Lutheran churches in central New Jersey. Arthur Oliver's reminiscences of Stephen Crane, the first of a series of Jersey Memories, touches the borderland of political, as well as literary, history.

The University of Pittsburgh will hold its Third Annual History Conference on Saturday, Mar. 19, 1932. Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, of Columbia University, will be the chief speaker. The general theme of the conference this year will be directed along the lines of "Local History".

James Buchanan, the Squire from Lancaster, is the title of an article, of which pt. 1, the Squire's Home Town, appears in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October, and pt. 2, the Squire at Home, will appear in the next issue. The author is Professor Philip G. Auchampaugh, of State Teachers College, Duluth, Minn. Professor William S. Dye, jr., of the Pennsylvania State College, presents an interesting study of Pennsylvania *versus* the Theatre, and Harold E. Gillingham relates the history of the Philadelphia Windsor Chair and its Journeyings.

The October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* has an article, by Mary M. Sterrett, on Pittsburgh's Part in the Oregon Trail. The chapters of Edward P. Anderson's studies of the Intellectual Life of Pittsburgh, 1786–1836, which appear in this issue pertain to painting, social, scientific, and literary organizations, and leading men. Captain Samuel A. Craig's Memoirs of Civil War and Reconstruction are concluded.

On Sept. 29 ground-breaking ceremonies for the reconstruction of Fort Necessity were held under the auspices of the Fort Necessity Memorial Association of Uniontown, Pa. In connection with the plans for the reconstruction of the fort, the erection of a monument by the Federal government, and the creation, by the state of Pennsylvania, of the locality into a park, the memorial association has brought out a pamphlet (pp. 13) bearing the title: *A Young Colonel from Virginia, and the Blow he struck for American Independence in the Year 1754, together with its Significance as a Feature of the Approaching Bicentennial of his Birth.*

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The principal article in the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is a study of the First Uniform School System of Maryland, 1865–1868, by L. E. Blauch. A genealogical study, George Calvert (1700–1771) and Some of his Descendants (1731–1931), is by John Bailey Calvert Nicklin.

In the October number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are found a number of letters of John Tyler to members of his family. One of the letters, written to his sister on Dec. 27, 1811, relates to the destruction of the Richmond theater by fire the night before. The others are of the period 1845–1854. The *Quarterly* reprints the protest of the New Jersey legislature, Mar. 18, 1863, against the acts and policies of President Lincoln.

In the October number of the *North Carolina Historical Review*, Professor C. C. Crittenden gives an account of the Means of Communication in North Carolina, 1763–1789, Dr. G. G. Johnson describes Courtship and Marriage Customs in Ante-Bellum North Carolina, and Rev. Douglas L. Rights, president of the Wachovia Historical Society (Winston-Salem) presents a paper entitled the Trading Path to the Indians. The latter is a study of that trading path across Virginia and Carolina which was ancient when William Byrd described it in 1728, was a main highway in the Revolutionary period, during the Civil War, and to-day marks a line of industrial and educational centers. The paper includes accounts of some of the earlier journeys over the path. This number of the *Review* includes also some twenty-five letters (1821–1828) from Romulus M. Saunders (1791–1867) to Bartlett Yancy, edited, with an introduction, by A. R. Newsome.

The first number (January, 1932) of the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Record*, edited and published by Clarence Griffin, at Forest City, N. C., has appeared. Among the contents are an article by Colonel Fred A. Olds on North Carolina Military Forts and Defenses; a sketch, by the editor, of Thomas Hutchins, sr., Revolutionary Patriot; some account, by Louis T. Moore, of the career of Benjamin Smith, governor of North Carolina, 1810–1812; a broadside address from Israel Pickens, member of Congress, to his constituents, July 4, 1812; and a letter of Waightstill Avery, Apr. 20, 1816, chiefly respecting conditions of travel between Philadelphia and Morganton.

The October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* has an article by Edgar L. Pennington on the South Carolina Indian War of 1715 as seen by the Clergymen, to which Mr. Theodore D. Jervey adds a note respecting the assistance said to have been furnished by Virginia, North Carolina, and New England. Mr. A. S. Salley contributes a "Quaint Record" of the Stabler family of South Carolina, partly genealogical, but largely a collection of pious prayers.

The *Georgia Historical Quarterly* of September has an article by H. B. Fant on the Indian Trade Policy of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America; one by D. F. Osbourne entitled the Last Hope of the South: to Establish a Principle, an account of Southern views on

sectional questions over the decade, 1850–1860; and one by Roland M. Harper, contributing Some Savannah Vital Statistics of a Century Ago. There is also a group of family letters of the years 1860–1861, edited by Martha G. and Mary A. Waring.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* prints in the October number a group of letters from John H. Ransdell to Gov. Thomas O. Moore, May to June, 1863, which are of particular interest for their bearing on the question of the loyalty of slaves. G. P. Whittington contributes an introduction to the letters. William A. Beard, in an article on Istrouma, dives quite deep into the history of this Indian name of the place which the French called Baton Rouge. Donelson Caffery: a Louisiana Democrat out of Line is the paper read by Professor E. M. Violette at the Boston meeting (1930) of the American Historical Association. Other contents of this issue include a first installment of Ship Lists of Passengers leaving France for Louisiana, 1718–1724, in a translation by Albert L. Dart and with an introduction by the editor; pt. 2 of Mrs. Fanny Z. Lovell Bone's study of Louisiana in the Disputed Election of 1876; and other continuations.

In the October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Richard Sternberg discusses the questions pertaining to the Western Boundary of Louisiana, 1762–1803; H. A. Trexler gives an account of the *Harriet Lane* and the Blockade of Galveston, with some description of the vessel's subsequent history; J. L. Waller presents a study of the Overland Movement of Cotton, 1866–1886; and Milledge L. Bonham, jr., sketches the career of James Butler Bonham, Consistent Rebel, who began his course of rebellion in college, continued it in the nullification controversy, confirmed it by openly contemning a judge on the bench, and crowned a rebellious career by defying the Mexican government and dying at the Alamo.

WESTERN STATES

The annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will take place in Lincoln, Nebr., during the last week of April. Dr. T. C. Blegen, of the Minnesota Historical Society, is chairman of the program committee, and Professor James L. Sellers, of the University of Nebraska, is in charge of local arrangements.

The July number of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society contains an article by Robert B. McAfee, entitled the History of the Rise and Progress of the First Settlement on Salt River and the Establishment of the New Providence Church.

The principal article in the October number of the *Filson Club History Quarterly* is on the Long Hunters and James Knox their Leader, by Brent Altsheler.

The principal article in the July number of the *Tennessee Historical*

Magazine is Henry Watterson, Last of the Oracles, by William E. Beard. Among the briefer articles are: Mark Twain, Southerner, by A. V. Goodpasture, and "If I had a Thousand Lives", a sketch of Sam Davis, the Confederate scout, by Mary G. Braly. The issue contains also the diary of Jacob Stuart, recording a journey made by himself and two companions to California in 1849–1850.

The volume entitled *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines: a Memorial Volume containing the American Ancestry of Mary Beman (Gates) Dawes,* vol. II., *Gates and Allied Families,* compiled by Mary Walton Ferris (Chicago, Lakeside Press, privately printed, pp. 919), contains a record of eighty-three American families which contributed to the blood of Mary Beman Gates Dawes in whose large family are included Charles G., ambassador to Great Britain, and Rufus C., president of the Century of Progress (Chicago Exposition, 1933). A "Dawes volume" (I.) will follow. The Gates family in America goes back to George Gates of English origin who settled in Hartford, Conn., about 1650, and much of its history is related to southern New England. She to whom the volume is a memorial lived her entire life (1842–1921) on one street of the small Ohio town of Marietta. The compiler has introduced much more material for the social historian than is to be found in most genealogies. But more important is its comparative availability by means of a subject index, which is something of an innovation in genealogies. One finds references therein to "books owned", "liquor", "mills", "morals", "American Revolution", "slaves", "travel", etc. Genealogy, of however great independent worth, may become much more of an auxiliary to the work of the historian if its social materials are made at least partially available by some such index. C. L. G.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, October issue, contains a paper by the late Harvey Wilson Compton, sometime superintendent of the Toledo public schools, on the Overthrow of France in the Northwest.

The September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains an article by Charles Roll, on Richard W. Thompson: a Political Conservative of the Fifties, and one by Mrs. Etta R. French, on Stephen S. Harding: a Hoosier Abolitionist. The career of Thompson epitomizes in a way the political struggle which culminated in the Civil War. Virginian by birth, a resident of Indiana, he was a Whig in politics, of the faith of Henry Clay, and clung to that party so long as a vestige remained, then going over to the American party. Bitterly contemning the Abolitionists, he refused to align himself with the Republican party until the decision was imperative. Stephen S. Harding was the antithesis of Thompson. This issue of the *Magazine* contains also a group of Civil War letters.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for October is a monograph on *The*

Archaeology of Randolph County and the Fudge Mound, by Frank M. Setzler.

The April number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society includes an article by Dr. Edward D. Jones on Educational Pathfinders of Illinois; one by William N. Moyers entitled a Story of Southern Illinois, the Soldiers' Reservation, including the Indians, French Traders, and Some Early Americans; and two articles on phases of Illinois history in the Civil War. One of these is on the Development of the Peace Movement in Illinois during the Civil War and is by J. M. Hofer, of Bethel College, Kans. The movement, Mr. Hofer says, was made primarily by the Democratic party, located largely in the southern part of the state, although several other elements had part in it. The other article, by Harry E. Pratt and entitled the Repudiation of Lincoln's War Policy in 1862: Stuart-Swett Congressional Campaign, is chiefly an account of that campaign.

The October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains, besides continued articles, pt. 1 of Selections from the Autobiography of Governor T. T. Crittenden; a study of the Kansas City Charter of 1875, by Thomas S. Barclay; and a brief article on Missouri's First Railroad, by R. B. Oliver.

In the autumn number of *Michigan History Magazine,* William L. Jenks relates at some length the story of Michigan's Five Million Dollar Loan, a loan which the state, in behalf of internal improvements, projected immediately upon its admission in 1837. Among the other articles are Reminiscences of Albion College, by an alumnus; some facts about Detroit 100 Years Ago, drawn from a newspaper of 1831, by George B. Catlin; and an account of Michigan in 1845, reprinted from a volume entitled *Woodcraft,* by George W. Sears (New York, 1884).

The pages of the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* are chiefly occupied with continuations of T. J. Fitzpatrick's study of Place-Names of Van Buren County, Iowa, and David C. Mott's account of Abandoned Towns, Villages, and Post Offices of Iowa. Douglas C. McMurtrie describes two early issues of the Council Bluffs *Press.*

In the October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Francis O. Wilcox describes the numerous plans proposed to the general assembly for Congressional redistricting in Iowa in 1931 and offers suggestions as to other plans in which personal and political elements are eliminated. Ruth A. Gallaher tells the story of Mrs. Annie Turner Wittenmyer and her labors in behalf of a group of women's organizations in furnishing aid to sick and wounded soldiers in the Civil War.

The November number of the *Palimpsest* is devoted to the general subject of the Mines of Spain, by William J. Petersen, and includes sketches of Perrot's mines, Jean Marie Cardinal, and Julien Dubuque.

The September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains an article by John B. Sanborn on the Supreme Court of Wisconsin in the Eighties; the first installment of a biographical sketch, by Hiram D. Densmore, of Rollin D. Salisbury (1858–1922), sometime head of the department of geology in Beloit College, and for twenty-three years dean of the Ogden School of Science in the University of Chicago; and an installment of Charles M. Tuttle's Diary of a Journey to California in 1859. The editor, Dr. Joseph Schafer, furnishes a delightful sketch of the author of the "Frontier Hypothesis", Professor Frederick J. Turner.

The September number of *Minnesota History* includes two Itasca Studies, namely: the Legend of Lake Itasca, by Edward C. Gale, and the Origin and Meaning of the Name "Itasca", by Irving H. Hart. Gertrude W. Ackerman relates the story of Joseph Renville of Lac qui Parle, fur trader and Indian leader; Carlton C. Qualey gives an account of Pioneer Norwegian Settlement in Minnesota; and a record of the state historical convention of 1931, which included a tour into the "Arrowhead Country", is supplied by the editor.

The Kansas State Historical Society has inaugurated the publication of the *Kansas Historical Quarterly,* of which the first issue appeared in November, and with a good array of articles, pertaining for the most part to phases of Kansas history. An account of the Pioneer Printing of Kansas is written by Douglas C. McMurtrie; Walker Wyman contributes a paper on Freighting: a Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail; Marvin H. Garfield writes one on the Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865–1869; while James C. Malin discusses the question, Was Governor John A. Martin a Prohibitionist? presenting by way of evidence four letters of Gov. Martin (1885, 1887). The First Day's Battle at Hickory Point, September 13, 14, 1856, between the free-state and proslavery forces, is from the Diary and Reminiscences of Samuel James Reader, a participant. The documents are edited, with an introduction, by George A. Root.

Among the articles in the September number of the *Colorado Magazine* are: Early Denver History as told by Contemporary Newspaper Advertisements, contributed by Lawrence W. Marshall; the Colorado Legislature and International Affairs, a survey, by Humbert Rees, of the instances in which, "the Constitution of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding", the state of Colorado has engaged in international relationships; and an account of a journey from Denver to Salt Lake by Overland Stage in 1862, written by Edward Bliss, then editor of the *Rocky Mountain News.* The November number includes an article by Paul S. Logan on Building the Narrow Gauge from Denver to Pueblo; one by A. J. Flynn on Furs and Forts of the Rocky Mountain West; and a reprint, from the Cincinnati

Daily Commercial of June 3, 1859, of an article by Henry Villard, here entitled To the Pike's Peak Country in 1859 and Cannibalism on the Smoky Hill Route.

Louis H. Warren contributes to the October number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* an article on the Conveyance of Property, the Spanish and Mexican Way; and Barbara Aitken, one entitled Folk-History and its Raw Material, pertaining to white raids on Hopi villages. The story of John G. Heath, scholar, lawyer, manufacturer, merchant, farmer, would-be owner of a baronial estate, is by the late William H. H. Allison. The Diary of Sylvester Davis, for which P. A. F. Walter furnishes an introduction, is descriptive of a journey to Pike's Peak, April to October, 1859.

In the October number of the *Arizona Historical Review,* Will C. Barnes attempts to gather together the facts—"genesis, history, and chronology"—of the Pleasant Valley War of 1887, the bloody story of the feud between two families, the Grahams and the Tewksburys; Joe Chisholm recounts the career of Thomas H. Rynning, sometime commander of the Arizona Rangers; and Colonel C. C. Smith, continuing his contribution of Some Unpublished History of the Southwest, presents an installment of the diary of Mrs. Granville H. Oury, beginning in June, 1865, when leaving San Antonio for Mexico. Granville H. Oury had been a delegate to the Confederate Congress from Arizona and was afterward territorial delegate in the Congress of the United States.

The initial article in the September number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* is by the Secretary of War, the Hon. Patrick J. Hurley, entitled Why Educate the Indians. An article on the Cherokee War Path is the narrative of a warring expedition, written by John Ridge in 1836. It is edited by Carolyn T. Foreman. The history of the Opening of the Cherokee Outlet (first installment) is from the pen of Joe B. Milam, the story of the California Mail Route through Oklahoma is told by Grant Foreman, a sketch of Chief (General) Pleasant Porter (died 1907) is by J. B. Meserve, and an article entitled When Spaniards settled—1598, is by Paul Nesbitt.

The history of labor, unlike that of war or of politics, is not often written in terms of the lives of its leaders. This gives a more than common interest to the volume entitled *Frank Roney, Irish Rebel and California Labor Leader: an Autobiography,* edited by Ira B. Cross (Berkeley, University of California Press, pp. xxxvi, 573, $5.50). In his introduction, Professor Cross has sketched the labor movement in California, mentioning briefly the dominant figures, and has explained how he persuaded Frank Roney to write his autobiography. Roney's leadership appears to have been short-lived, covering only the years from 1881 to 1886. The first third of the volume relates his experiences as a Fenian in Ireland.

The *California Nugget* of April-May, 1930, contains an article on the founding of Los Angeles and one entitled Thomas O. Larkin, Silent Partner of his Government, both signed "J. D. F." Larkin, who had settled in Monterey in 1832, was made consul of the United States and became the confidential agent of the government in California.

Among the articles in the September number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* are: Syracuse and Santiam City, 1845–1861, by Jesse S. Douglas; the Belshaw Journey and the Oregon Trail, 1853, by Mrs. Gwen Castle; and the Oregon City Woolen Mill, by Alfred L. Lomax.

In an article entitled Chief Seattle and Angeline, in the October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly,* Clarence B. Bagley relates the story of the chief for whom the city of Seattle was named and the story of his daughter; Austin Mires, who was a delegate to the convention which framed the constitution of the state of Washington in 1889, offers some remarks on the convention and the constitution; T. C. Elliott summarizes the discussions about the name Oregon; and Professor Edmond S. Meany seeks to prove that Dr. Saugrain helped Lewis and Clark.

CANADA

The *Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Public Archives of Canada, 1493–1877,* prepared by Magdalen Casey, librarian (Ottawa, Public Archives of Canada, pp. 553), is the first volume of a new catalogue listing nearly ten thousand pamphlets published at dates from 1493 to 1931 which are found in the Department of Public Archives. The first list appeared in 1903, and revised lists in 1911 and 1916. The second volume of the new catalogue is expected during the current year.

The *Nineteenth Report* of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, 1930, by Alexander Fraser, LL.D., continues the data furnished by previous *Reports* on the settlement of Upper Canada. It embodies Land Book B, Aug. 19, 1796–Apr. 7, 1797.

Contributions to Canadian Economics, vol. III., which belongs to the series of University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics, contains two articles of interest for the recent financial history of Canada: The Canadian Banks and War Finance, by C. A. Curtis, and Expenditures of Canadian Provincial Governments, with tables and charts, by J. A. Maxwell.

Vol. XXVII. of the Ontario Historical Society, entitled *Papers and Records* (Toronto, the Society, pp. 623, $2.00), presents a remarkable marriage register by Rev. William Jenkins of Richmond Hill, containing the record of 857 ceremonies. Another record of interest in the study of Canadian families is the Register of Saint Paul's Church at Fort Erie, 1836–1844. Still another document is the Proudfoot Papers, a continuation

of the diary of Rev. William Proudfoot covering the year from Sept. 2, 1833, to Sept. 6, 1834. The rest of the volume is made up chiefly of papers by members of the society.

Mr. J. R. Smallwood, Justice of the Peace for the Dominion, is the author of a volume on *The New Newfoundland* (New York, Macmillan, pp. xvi, 277, $3.00), which aims to answer many questions in regard to the island state, its recent progress, the development of industry, its future prospects. The beauty of the scenery is abundantly illustrated by photographs.

Articles: Émile Lauvrière, *Deux Traitres d'Acadie et leur Victime: les Latour, Père et Fils et Charles d'Aulnay-Charnizay* (Canada Français, Nov.); Ada Macleod, *The Glenaladale Pioneers* [Prince Edward Island, 1770] (Dalhousie Rev., Oct.); Charles F. Mullett, *Tory Imperialism on the Eve of the Declaration of Independence* (Can. Hist. Rev., Sept.); C. P. Stacey, *Fenianism and the Rise of National Feeling in Canada at the Time of Confederation* (*ibid.*).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

Two more volumes of its collection of documents have been published by the Academy of History of Cuba. Vol. IV. contains the fourth part of *Actas de las Asambleas de Representantes y del Congreso de Gobierno durante la Guerra de Independencia* (*1898*), and vol. VIII. contains the second part of *Papeles Existentes en el Archivo de Indias Relativos a Cuba y muy particularmente a la Habana* (*1578–1586*).

The annual report of the secretary of foreign relations of Mexico, covering the period from August, 1930, to July, 1931, has been published in two bulky volumes. Much of this report consists of statistics and accounts, but the report of the Commission on International Waters between Mexico and the United States will be of interest to American readers. This report is accompanied by a large-scale map of the boundary between California and Lower California in the region of the delta of the Colorado River.

A *Bibliografia de la Revolución Mexicana,* by Roberto Ramos, contains 1876 titles of books and pamphlets dealing with the Mexican revolution (1910–1929). It includes publications which appeared as late as May, 1931. There is a topical index and a list of twelve Mexican bibliographical monographs. This bibliography should prove useful to those doing research in recent Mexican history.

Nos. 45 and 46 of the *Boletín* del Archivo Nacional of Caracas, Venezuela, contain the usual summary of progress in organization of the National Archives which Dr. Vincente Dávila has so ably instituted and carried out.

Dr. Ernesto Quesada, professor in the University of Berlin, has recently published at Leipzig, in German, a pamphlet (pp. 86) on the economic situation between Latin America and the United States. It is no. 10 of the *Weltwirtschaftliche Vorträge und Abhandlungen* published by Ernst Schultze.

Wira Kocha is the name of a new periodical devoted to anthropological studies. It is published at Lima, Peru, by Julio C. Tello, editor. Vol. I., no. 1, contains illustrated articles on the food, clothing, art, and language of the Peruvian aborigines.

The paper on Bolívar read by Professor Joseph B. Lockey at the meeting of the Hispanic American section of the American Historical Association, held Dec. 29, 1930, in honor of the centenary of Bolívar's death, is republished in Spanish translation in no. 53 of the *Boletín* de la Academia Nacional de Historia of Caracas.

No. 3 of the Stanford Pamphlets is a lecture by Professor Percy A. Martin on Simón Bolívar.

Any popular or semipopular book on Latin America gives promise of arousing interest in, and of giving information about, countries concerning which at present a lamentable ignorance exists in the minds of most North Americans. It is doubtful, however, whether *America Hispana* by Waldo Frank (New York, Scribner's), fulfills this expectation. The style is pleasing and full of poetic imagery, but leaves the impression that it was written for effect rather than to give information. The author's lurid generalities doubtless contain much of truth, but this truth can be apprehended only by those who already have an understanding of the history of these countries. Other readers will be unable to separate the wheat from the chaff and must be left in a maze of misunderstanding.

Colonel Santos Jurado, of Caracas, grandson of Luís López Méndez, who did so much for Venezuelan independence by securing recruits for the British Legion in London, has published a collection of short stories and sketches entitled *Retablo Colonial,* dealing with the early colonial history of Venezuela. The author is an amateur historian of outstanding ability who has delved in the archives to find source material for his stories. His vivid and glowing style should do much to popularize the early history of his native land.

The volume of Professor J. Fred Rippy on *Latin America in World Politics: an Outline Survey* (New York, Crofts, pp. 301, $3.75) has been issued in a revised edition.

A History of Hispanic America, by Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, has recently been published by the new process of the Mime-O-Form Service of Washington, D. C. It is a textbook handbook for college students

which, due to its completeness and fullness of detail, will serve its purpose better as a handbook than as a textbook.. There is apparently nothing omitted which either the student or the teacher of Hispanic American history might need. Maps, bibliography, index, and cartology (index of published maps) are all there. The text is clearly expressed, concise, and interesting.

Articles: A. P. Whitaker, *France and the American Deposit at New Orleans* (Hisp. Am. Hist. Rev., Nov.); A. F. Zimmerman, *Spain and its Colonies, 1808–1820* (*ibid.*); P. D. Dickens, *Argentine Arbitrations with Reference to United States Participation therein* (*ibid.*). A. H.

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by G. F. Andrews, G. C. Boyce, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, E. N. Curtis, C. L. Grose, Alfred Hasbrouck, J. F. Jameson, L. W. Labaree, and C. O. Paullin.

Erratum: On p. 102 of the October number, after "Mary Tudor" insert "to Louis XII.".